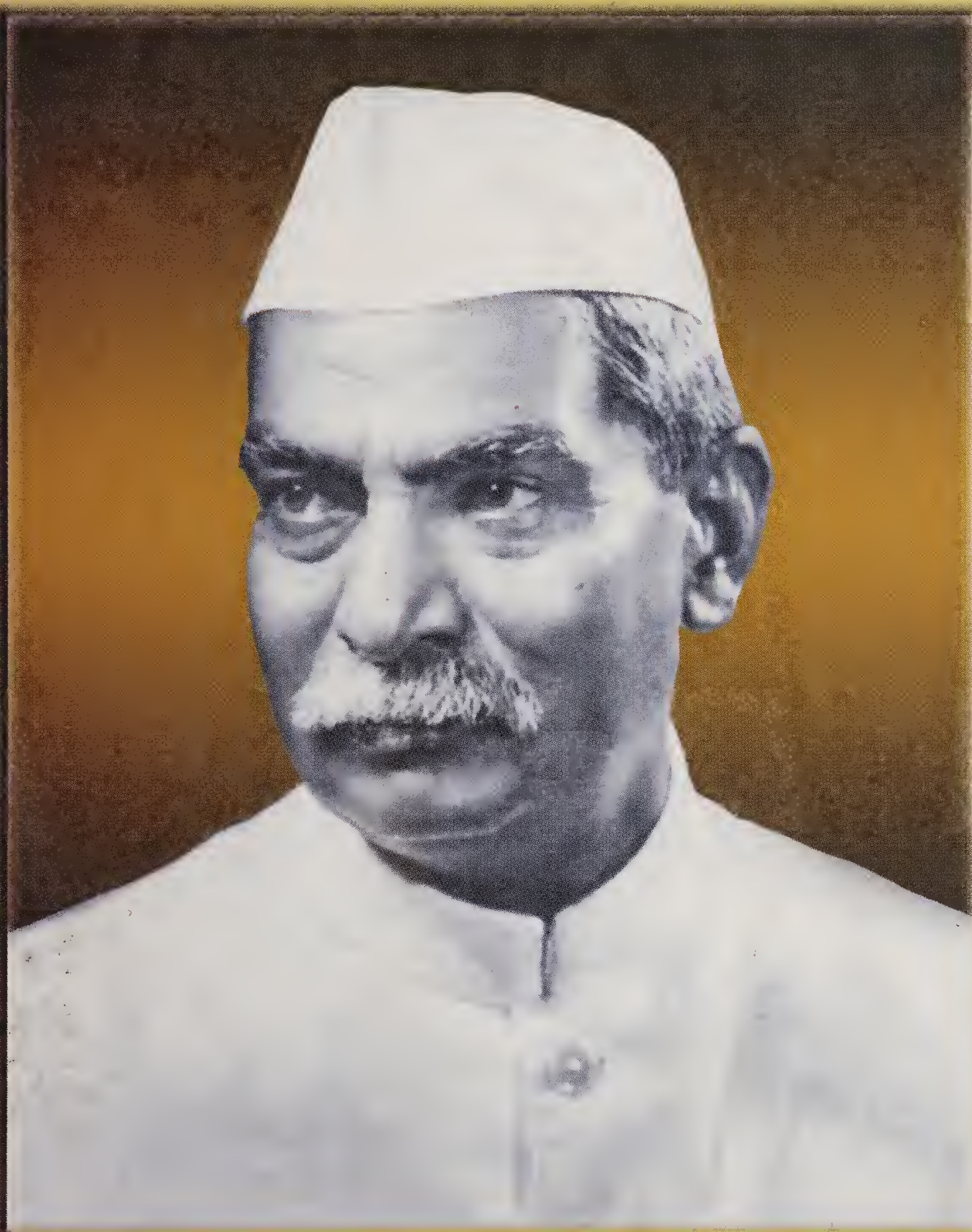


SPEECHES OF
PRESIDENT
RAJENDRA PRASAD



VOL-III

**SPEECHES
OF PRESIDENT
RAJENDRA PRASAD**

VOLUME THREE



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PREFACE

This volume contains Dr. Rajendra Prasad's speeches from November 1956 to May 1963, when he laid down the office of the President of India. The speeches have been arranged subjectwise. Their sweep is broad and they bring out the multichromatic personality of Dr. Prasad, highlighting various facets of his life—as a statesman, a scholar, a historian, an educationist, an idealist and a thinker, who never shied away from new ideas, though firmly holding to his cultural moorings.

Education was Dr. Prasad's forte and this explains why "education", as one subject claims the largest number of speeches in this collection. In the various convocation addresses to Indian universities and educational institutions, he laid emphasis on the present-day requirements of the country and the people. He exhorted educationists and teachers alike to rise up to the new challenges thrown up by independence and thus refashion the educational system so that it produced not square pegs in round holes, but men and women who could give shape to the aspirations of the free people of India and help them realise the great destiny that was theirs.

On whatever subject Dr. Prasad spoke, he injected into it a rare simplicity of approach, complete disuse of rhetoric and a fresh air of contemporaneity. All this goes to make his speeches a real treat, compelling sustained interest.



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ADDRESSES TO PARLIAMENT

A Year Full of Achievements

I AM addressing you today after a full year, a year which has witnessed significant happenings in the world and considerable developments in our own country. We are meeting at a time when general elections are being held all over the country and a new Parliament is coming into being as a result of these elections. This is the last occasion when I am addressing this Parliament. Some of you will come back to represent your constituencies in the new Parliament and some of you may not return. But I have no doubt that wherever your field of work may lie, it will be dedicated to the great task of building up this country of ours. I wish you success and good fortune in your field of activity.

Since I addressed you last, the world has seen a period of high tensions, particularly in the Middle East, and of conflict ending in the invasion of Egypt. The intervention of the United Nations and the impact of world opinion resulted in the withdrawal of the invading armies from Egypt, but the conflict has not only done great damage to Egypt but has added to the tensions which were showing signs of relaxation, and has left in its wake many problems to be resolved. Our country, which is deeply involved both on account of her concern for world peace and co-operation and her own interest, has sought to assist in resolving these difficulties. India has accepted greater burdens including participation in the United Nation Emergency Force constituted by the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations which called for the withdrawal of the invading forces.

In central Europe, the events in Hungary have disturbed us greatly and here, as elsewhere, we have stood for the withdrawal of foreign forces and against their use against people and national movements. At the same time, we have used our best efforts to assist in finding solutions to the problem at its various stages and extended our sympathy and our token of assistance to the people of Hungary.

The position in the Middle East casts its shadow over the prospects of co-operation and peace and the Suez Canal awaits opening for traffic. The policy of military pacts has divided the nations in this region and brought

the apparatus of war more and more into Asia. We must, however, note with relief that the conflict in this region did not grow to greater dimensions.

Our Government and people rejoice in the fact that the former British colony of the Gold Coast, along with the former Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration, has now been constituted into the independent and sovereign State of Ghana and a full member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

We welcome the admission of Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Japan and Ghana to the United Nations. The continued exclusion of Mongolia and the denial to the rightful representatives of China of their place in the United Nations, cause us deep concern and we continue to devote our endeavours to remedy this situation.

We hope that Malaya will soon become a free and independent State and this will further limit the sphere of colonialism and extend the area of national freedom in Asia.

In the United Nations, the Indian Delegation, in the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly, has made effective and useful contributions in the prolonged debates on crucial issues in regard to the Middle East, Algeria and Cyprus, and contributed to peaceful solutions and procedures in respect of them. Disarmament has made no progress, but the United Nations unanimously resolved to continue its efforts to consider all proposals before it, including the proposals made by India. The Government of India are happy to have been able to assist in promoting this resolution.

Our country, which was a member of the Preparatory Commission of the International Atomic Energy Agency can derive satisfaction that the Agency has now been established. May it fulfil the hopes that atomic energy will be harnessed for peaceful uses and also diverted from destructive purposes.

I had the happy privilege of visiting our near neighbour, Nepal, and the Vice-President represented our country at the Coronation of His Majesty King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah. The endeavours of the Nepal Government and the people for economic and social development have our full sympathy, and we are happy that we have been able to extend technical and economic assistance to them in the implementation of their Five Year Plan.

The Buddha Jayanti celebrations in India gave us the opportunity of welcoming in this country the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, as well as leaders of Buddhism from different parts of the world. These celebrations

reminded us the world afresh of the great message of peace and compassion of the Buddha, which is so much needed in the world today.

We have been privileged to receive in our country many distinguished visitors to whom my Government and the people of India have extended their traditional hospitality. Among these eminent guests of ours have been Their Imperial Majesties the Shahenshah and the Empress of Iran, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, President Shukri El-Kuwatly of Syria, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, China, Nepal and Denmark, the Vice-Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister of the Soviet Union, the Deputy Prime Minister of Sudan and the Foreign Ministers of the United States, France and the United Kingdom. The President of the United Nations General Assembly for 1956, Dr. Jose Maza, and the Secretary General of the United Nations were also among our distinguished visitors. Parliamentary, cultural, trade and other goodwill delegations from Burma, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Syria and Uganda have also visited our country.

The Vice-President paid visits to the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Africa, the Central African Federation, Indonesia and Japan and received a very warm welcome everywhere.

My Prime Minister visited the United States at the invitation of President Eisenhower. The visit and the talks between the President of the United States and my Prime Minister have assisted in the promotion of understanding between our two countries and greater appreciation of each other's point of view. My Government feel confident that it will lead to increasing co-operation in all fields on the basis of mutual respect and understanding.

My Prime Minister also visited Canada at the invitation of Mr. Louis St. Laurent, the Prime Minister of Canada. His visit has helped to further enrich the relations between Canada and our country, which have always been very friendly and close.

My Government regret that no progress has been made in regard to the solution of the problem of apartheid and discrimination against Africans and the people of Indian origin in South Africa. This problem once again received the consideration of the United Nations at the instance of my Government. A further appeal to the Governments concerned to find a solution by negotiations has been made by the United Nations. The Government of India, as in the past, has readily subscribed to this resolution.

My Government deeply regret that Goa still continues to be an unhappy colonial outpost of the Portuguese Government, where every kind of liberty is suppressed and economic stagnation prevails. It is the firm policy of my Government that Goa should become free from colonial domination and should share in the freedom of the rest of India.

My Government regret that its relations with Pakistan continue to present difficulties and there has been no abatement in Pakistan of the campaigns of hatred and Jihad. The policy of the Government of India and the general approach of our people have been that we shall not respond to these with hatred, but shall continue our endeavours to promote friendly relations while defending our land and our legitimate interests. The exodus of people from East Pakistan to India continued throughout this past year and assumed alarming proportions. Altogether, over four million people have come from East Pakistan to India, and these persons have cast a heavy burden on our country and, more especially, on the State of West Bengal.

The problem of Kashmir was considered by the Security Council of the United Nations once again, at the request of the Government of Pakistan. The Government of India's position has been stated in clear and unambiguous terms, that the Jammu and Kashmir State is and has been a constituent State of the Indian Union since October 1947, like other states which acceded to the Union. The present situation in Kashmir has arisen from aggression and on illegal occupation of Union territory by Pakistan in violation of international law and agreements and engagements reached in pursuance of United Nations resolutions. The Security Council has resolved last month to send its then President to Pakistan and India to confer with the two Governments. The Government of India, in accordance with its general policy has agreed to receive and extend hospitality to Mr. Jarring of Sweden who is expected to arrive here soon.

The world situation as a whole, which was beginning to show some signs of improvement, gives us cause for less optimism at present. Our own country, however, continues to have friendly relations with all countries, but the deterioration in the world situation has adverse results on the development of peaceful relations and co-operation and economic development in our part of the world also. More particularly, the policy of military pacts based upon the balance of power, mutual suspicious and fear, has increased tensions in Asia and has led to the increase of armaments and extended the area of cold war. It continues to be the firm belief of my Government that only by a peaceful approach and agreed settlements can be found the right and hopeful way for solutions of the world's problems.

During the past year, the reorganization of the States was completed, and this great task which had unfortunately roused much passion in some parts of the country was accomplished. During the past year also, the First Five Year Plan was successfully completed and the Second Five Year Plan begun. This Plan while continuing to lay stress on greater food production, emphasises the need for industrial development, more especially in regard to heavy industry. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service have been extended with phenomenal rapidity over our rural areas and now cover 2,20,000 villages and a rural population of 129 million. In the community development scheme, special stress is being laid on the development of small-scale and cottage industries.

Mineral surveys have yielded promising discoveries of oil, and many new deposits of uranium ore have been located in Rajasthan and Bihar. The finds of thorium and uranium minerals in large quantities have more doubled our known reserves of these minerals. The work of our Atomic Energy Department has made great progress, and India's first atomic reactor began operations last year. This is the first reactor to go into operation in Asia, outside the Soviet Union.

We are about to complete the first year of Second Five Year Plan. Certain stresses and strains have emerged in the course of this year. Prices of certain commodities have risen and there has been a substantial draughts on the foreign exchange resources of the country. These factors reflect the growing tempo of development in the country, in the public as well as in the private sectors. The growth of internal demand for consumption and for investment is a concomitant of rapid development and, up to a point, the emergence of such pressure is a sign that the resources of the country are being stretched in the interests of development. It is, however, essential to ensure that these pressures do not go too far. Government is determined to take appropriate measures to restrain the rise in prices and to reduce the drain on foreign exchange resources.

The major problem before the country in this context is that of conserving and increasing its foreign exchange resources. For a country which starts with insufficient facilities for producing machinery and equipment, a plan of industrialization necessarily involves heavy foreign exchange expenditure. Since it is difficult in the short run to enlarge foreign exchange earnings substantially, developing economies require an inflow of external resources in the initial stages. It is, however, incumbent on the country concerned to earn the maximum foreign exchange it can and to exercise the utmost economy in the matter of imports. The recent agreement with the United States Government, under which large quantities of wheat, rice and cotton will be available to us on credit terms, will help in checking the rise in

prices and will contribute to the furtherance of the Plan. Considerable external finance will, we expect be forthcoming from international agencies like the World Bank and from friendly countries. Nevertheless, the bulk of the resources required for development must come from within the country, and the community has to be organised for a big production effort to make this possible.

The Second Plan gives high priority to industrialisation and to the diversification of the economic structures. This, in turn, requires a substantial increase in the production of basic necessities like food and cloth and of raw materials required for the developing industries. The Plan calls for more investment, and one of its principal aims is to enlarge employment opportunities. New incomes created by investment and employment are mostly spent on food and cloth and it is only if their supplies can be increased rapidly that the Plan can go forward without creating an inflationary situation. An increase in agricultural production thus constitutes the pivot of developmental effort and for this we need the fullest co-operation of every section of the community.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1957-58 will be laid before you for the purpose of passing votes on account authorizing expenditure for a part of that year. In addition, a similar statement in respect of the Kerala State will also be laid before you for passing a vote on account for a part of the year for that State.

This session of Parliament will be a brief one and no major or controversial legislation will be taken up during this session. Some Ordinances which have been promulgated since the last session will be placed before Parliament.

Five years ago, this Parliament came into existence representing the vast electorate of this great country, and it has laboured for the well-being and advancement of India and for peace and co-operation in the world. These labours have produced substantial results which we see all round us in the country, and I wish to offer you, Members of Parliament, my congratulations on the great tasks that have been accomplished. But there is no resting place for any of us and the great story of the building up of a new and prosperous India will continue to unfold itself bringing happiness to all our people and serving the cause of world peace and co-operation.

I earnestly trust that the message of the Buddha, whose anniversary we recently celebrated, will ever guide us, and the spirit of the Father of the Nation will continue to inspire us.

Maintaining the Tempo of Development

You and the members of the legislatures of the States, chosen by an electorate of nearly two hundred million voters of our country, in accord with our Constitutional procedures, have called me once again to the high office of the President of the Republic. I am deeply conscious of the honour and I am grateful for the confidence which you have reposed in me. It shall be my endeavour to continue to deserve the trust and the affection of which I have been so long the happy recipient.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you, as Members of the second Parliament in the history of our Republic. Some of you have been members of one or other of the Houses of Parliament, or come to Parliament with rich experience in your state legislatures. There are others among you who have been elected to Parliament for the first time. All of you will find, in your life and duties as Members of Parliament, both in the legislature and your constituencies, immense and varied opportunities and fields of constructive work in the service of our country and people. I wish you all good fortune and a very successful tenure of Parliamentary life.

We are in the second year of our Second Five Year Plan. There has been some inevitable slowing down in the first year of the Plan, resulting partly from the reorganisation of the States. This imposes a greater strain and calls for added effort both by the Government and the people during the remaining period of that Plan. My Government are fully conscious of this.

The economic situation, more particularly in relation to the Plan, confronts us with factors which, while they do not warrant grave apprehensions, are matters of serious concern and they are engaging the attention of my Ministers. The deficit in the Central and State budgets and the strain on our foreign exchange resources occasioned by the requirements of the Plan and of industrial development generally as well as by external factors, call for determined and planned efforts. They call for both conservation and expansion of our resources by effecting real economics, by planned restrictions of certain imports, by expansion of export trade and by increasing national self-sufficiency both in the fields of industry and agriculture. They will call for saving to be utilised for production and the abandonment of unproductive and anti-social habits of hoarding and speculation. These can

only be effectively achieved by efforts and vigilance not only on the part of Government but by the people as well.

It would be the easier, but not the gainful or constructive way, to bridge the gaps to which I have referred, by halting development. This will, however, provide no real or long-term remedy. Our endeavour has to be to mobilise and conserve resources for greater productivity and for maintaining and improving development. My Government are fully aware of the problem and of the efforts required. They are equally concerned that our temporary difficulties should not lead us in the direction of retarding progress and development, but that the difficulties should be overcome, where necessary, by reconsideration and revision of methods and by planned mobilisation of resources and not by either the abandonment or slowing down of the progress towards our objectives.

Public opinion plays a large and well-nigh conclusive part in the success of such endeavour. The determination and fervour of our people, their readiness to accept discipline, to respond to the call for efforts and their resolve not to be led into anti-social behaviour, such as by hoarding or wasteful spending, alone will help the country to pass successfully through the present crucial period of our Second Five Year Plan.

Members of Parliament, the country looks to you a great deal for that sustained and special effort in support of the policies and endeavours which my Government will initiate in this behalf, which will help us to surmount difficulties and to achieve success.

While food production has increased, and the increases have been maintained, except for the results of natural calamities, more especially in certain parts of Bihar and the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, we have a considerable way to go before our country becomes fully self-sufficient in food. There are signs of slight abatement in the rising trend of food prices and my Government have taken several measures to bring about this trend. Intensive efforts have increased food production and improved crop prospects. Except in the case of some of the coarse grains adversely affected by climatic conditions, the crop yields and estimates not only do not indicate a shortfall but have recorded appreciable increases.

My Government have also entered into arrangements for necessary imports of foodgrains and for building up reserves, which will prevent price increases and bridge the gaps that still remain. A large storage construction programme has been undertaken. The behaviour of the public is a large and often determining factor in preventing rise in food prices which is often caused by the apprehension of shortages resulting in the resort to hoarding as well as to the tendency to panic. The food situation, thanks to the

increased production and the steps taken by my Government does not warrant any lack of public confidence in regard to supplies. My Government propose to keep Parliament informed of the position in regard to food and the estimates of supply and requirements. It may be hoped that a knowledge of the true facts will help to allay needless apprehensions and prevent artificial shortages and higher prices.

My Government are happy to state that their decision to lay stress on food production and agriculture generally in the Community Project plans has yielded handsome results. The Community Development and the National Extension Service programmes have made great strides. Higher targets in agriculture, health and sanitation have been achieved. The National Sample Survey shows that, at the end of the First Five Year Plan, the crop yields in the Community Development projects and National Extension Service Blocks areas were approximately 25 per cent higher than for the country as a whole. The Community Projects and National Extension Blocks now cover 2,22,000 villages.

State undertakings continue to make notable progress and new targets have been reached in almost every enterprise. There has also been expansion in the private sector. Khadi and Village industries will receive a further impetus with the setting up of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission as a statutory body. Among the major new projects that will soon be inaugurated is the Neyveli Lignite Project where the first mine-cut will be made this month. My Government attach importance to the building up of a plant for the manufacture of heavy machinery and steps are being taken to this end.

To reduce the pressure on our resources of foreign exchange, my Government are making efforts to obtain deferred payment arrangements for major projects. Long term credits for certain projects are being negotiated.

Consequent on the reorganisation of the State, Advisory Committee have been set up for the Union Territories and Territorial Councils have been established in Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura. A Corporation for Delhi will be soon established. A new Union Territory of the Lacadives, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands has come into existence and the Five Year Plan for the Andamans Islands at a total cost of Rs. 592.50 lakhs will include the development of communication between the islands and the mainland.

Shipyard construction and the building of ships of modern design have made great progress at Vishakapatnam and plans for a second shipyard are now in hand.

My Government have initiated measures to relieve housing shortages and promote housing standards, slum clearance and Plantation Housing Schemes and housing for low income groups and subsidized industrial housing. An urgent requirement of Delhi and the other big cities of India is the clearance of slum areas, and this problem is receiving the consideration of the Central and State Governments and the Corporation concerned.

Two Ordinances have been promulgated since the last session of Parliament. Bills dealing with these Ordinances will be placed before Parliament. These are :-

- (i) The Life Insurance Corporation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1957.
- (ii) The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Ordinance, 1957,

My Government will also submit to Parliament a number of other Bills during the current session.

An interim statement of revenue and expenditure for 1957-58 was presented to Parliament during its last session and votes on account authorising expenditure for a part of the year were passed. That statement of revenue and expenditure will be presented again to Parliament in this session with such changes as are considered necessary, and Parliament will be asked to approve funds for the whole year.

Our relations with foreign countries continue to be friendly. Since I addressed Parliament last, we have had the pleasure of receiving as the guests of the Republic, Mr. Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Prime Minister of Poland, Dr. Heinrich Von Brentano, Foreign Minister of the Federal German Republic and Mr. Osvaldo Sainte Marie, Foreign Minister of Chile.

My Prime Minister will attend the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London at the end of June. During his absence abroad, he will take the opportunity of visiting Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Egypt and Sudan.

While the situation in the Middle East continues to be unsatisfactory and charged with tension, it is a matter of gratification that the Suez Canal has been re-opened for navigation. My Government welcome the Declaration made by the Government of Egypt, prior to the opening of the Canal, which reaffirms the Convention of 1888 and the determination of Egypt to continue to abide by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of International Law. The Declaration provides for the reference of disputes arising from interpretations of the Convention and its application as well as certain other matters to the World Court and also to abide by its decisions. The main provisions in the Declaration are, in the view of my Government,

reasonable and adequate to safeguard the legitimate interests of the world community, if they are worked in a spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding by all concerned. A notable feature of the Declaration is that, while it is made by the Government of Egypt, that Government has declared that it has the status of an International Instrument and this has been registered with the United Nations. My Government feel that this Declaration and its status as an International Instrument is a notable contribution to the lowering of tensions in that area and will provide a solution of the difficulties that followed the nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

Dr. Gunnar Jarring, a former President of the Security Council, visited Pakistan and India in pursuance of a Resolution passed by the Security Council on the 21st of February this year at the end of the debate of Kashmir. Dr. Jarring visited India twice and conferred with my Prime Minister. He has submitted a report to the Security Council.

The sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission has been sitting in London for some time, but no agreement appears to have been reached on any aspect of Disarmament, including the suspension of explosions of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. The proposals of my Government in regard to Disarmament were once again referred by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the last session, along with all other proposals, to the Disarmament Commission.

Meanwhile, the United States, the Soviet Union, and now the United Kingdom continue their experiments to explode these weapons of mass destruction. World opinion is increasingly concerned about the harmful effects of radiation which has been increasingly and more frequently felt in various parts of the world. The demand of the suspension of these explosions is widespread and continues to be impressed upon the nuclear powers, but hitherto without success.

My Government do not consider that the compromise proposals suggested from diverse quarters for the so-called limitation of these explosions or for their registration will ever rid the world of their harmful effects, or open the way to the abandonment of these weapons of mass destruction. On the other hand, such regularisation of these tests tends to make thermo-nuclear war legitimate and as having the sanction of the world community. Reports of experiments with more and more deadly weapons of war continue to be received. It is, however, a matter of some gratification that the volume of world opinion against the continuance of experiments has reached a higher level than over before. My Prime Minister in a statement before the Lok Sabha in April 1954 put forward for consideration the proposal for a "Standstill Agreement" to suspend these explosions. These

proposals have since gained much support and the movement of world opinion in favour of it has gathered momentum. My Government will continue to exert their influence with other nations and in the counsels of the world to bring about the abandonment of these test explosions and the prohibition of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.

We meet here today one hundred years after the great rising which began in Meerut and spread over considerable parts of India. That was the first major challenge to foreign rule and threw up notable figures, famous in India's history. The uprising was cruelly suppressed, but the spirit of freedom and the desire to be free from foreign domination continued and found expression on many subsequent occasions. Ultimately it led to a great national movement which followed peaceful methods and succeeded in achieving the independence of India and the establishment of this Republic of ours. We pay tribute now to all those who gave their lives or otherwise suffered so that India may be free.

India has been independent for nearly ten years now and during this period Parliament has laboured for the well-being and advancement of this country and her people and for peace and co-operation in the world. These labours have produced substantial results which we see all round us in the country. The progress we have made during these years in our own land has produced in our people hope and self-reliance. This is a substantial foundation on which we can build for the future.

Abroad, my Government have striven strenuously to help lower existing tensions in the world and to serve the cause of peace. The country has also accepted heavy responsibilities in the pursuit of this policy, in regard to maintaining the independence of its approach as well as in making contributions to the maintenance of peace, as in Korea, Indo-China and now in the Middle-East.

The tasks that confront us both at home and abroad are not only considerable but at times appear overwhelming. But these tasks have to be faced, difficulties surmounted and objectives achieved if the fruits of independence are to be ensured to our people and if we are to help the world being spared the continual stress and horror of impending catastrophe.

My Government will continue their strenuous endeavours in all these directions, to the best of their capacity, conscious of the confidence reposed in them by the country and fortified by the conviction that despite clouds of war, and even despair, the desire for survival and progress is inherent in humanity. Our capacities and resources are limited and our voice in the world may be but small. But neither our national

interests nor our history and traditions, nor our convictions chart any other course for us. Happily for us, this is the common aim and the firm desire of all our people.

Members of Parliament, I wish you success in your labours.

Forging Ahead Despite Stresses

WE ARE about to complete the second year of our Second Five Year Plan. Our economy, as you are well aware, has been under considerable stress since the beginning of the Second Plan period. In my address to you last May, I said that : “It would be the easier, but not the gainful or constructive way, to bridge the gaps to which I have referred, by halting development. This will, however, provide no real or long-term remedy. Our endeavour has to be to mobilise and conserve resources for greater productivity and for maintaining and improving development. My Government are fully aware of the problem, and of the effort required. They are equally concerned that our temporary difficulties should not lead us in the direction of retarding progress and development, but that the difficulties should be overcome, where necessary, by reconsideration and revision of methods and by planned mobilisation of resources, and not by either the abandonment or slowing down of the progress towards our objectives.”

My Government have taken in many spheres of our economic and social life, steps that are very stringent to enable our economy and our planned development to absorb the shock of these stresses, thereby controlling to a great extent inflationary factors and meeting the situations resulting from the position in regard to foreign exchange resources and for the completion of the tasks under the Plan. The measures my Government have taken in this regard have yielded results and in recent months, I am happy to say, there has been some improvement. The measures adopted by my Government to restrict imports and to earn more foreign exchange have resulted recently in some diminution in the rate at which our foreign assets were falling. My Government have also endeavoured and succeeded in some measures in obtaining foreign assets by way of loans, arrangements in regard to specific projects, deferred payments for essential capital goods and severe limitation of allocation of foreign exchange to all but the most essential capital or consumption requirements. I should like to express my gratitude to the countries from whom we have received assistance in this respect. In this connection I would like to mention the Soviet Union, Canada, Germany, Japan and, more particularly, the United States of America.

Increased production, which would both help to reduce foreign exchange requirements and also help to earn it, and domestic savings, which help to check inflation and provide the internal resources required for the fulfillment of our plan tasks, are, however, imperative. These call for both understanding of problems and sacrifices from our people, for vigilance, economics and the support of public opinion.

The series of measures taken by my Government in regard to fiscal and foreign exchange matters have assisted in maintaining the stability of our economy. Prices which had been rising in 1956 and the early part of 1957, have not only remained steady, but registered a slight fall towards the end of last year, which is continuing. There has also been an appreciable decline in our Balance of Payments deficit. The credit position is considerably easier than it was last year. The resources of the banking system have improved and the increase in their advances has been moderate. The Reserve Bank proposes to watch the situation carefully with a view to keeping down any speculative tendencies.

The availability and prices of foodgrains very largely govern our internal price levels and our external payment position. The damage to crops as a result of drought in certain parts of the country has been a very disquieting feature. My Government have at their disposal reserves of food which would be maintained at adequate levels by further imports; and have also imposed a degree of limited but essential controls on the movement of foodgrains. My Government have also regulated the supply of bank credit for foodgrains to prevent hoarding and arranged for distribution of large quantities of foodgrains from Government stocks through Fair Price Shops. These measures have appreciably helped to restrain the upward trend in prices.

In 1956-57, even though the harvest was not good, the production of foodgrains almost touched the peak level reached in 1953-54. It was 68.7 million tons which was more than 5 per cent higher than the figure for 1955-56. The all India index of agricultural production showed an increase of about 6 per cent over the previous year. The production of commercial crops also recorded a significant increase. This was 18 per cent in regard to cotton, 13 per cent for sugarcane and 6 per cent for oil-seeds. All possible efforts are being made to increase food production at a higher rate than hitherto. It is essential that self-sufficiency in food should be attained.

Industrial production has maintained steady improvement. One wholesome result of the severe restrictions in imports, necessitated by the paucity of foreign exchange, is greater employment of domestic resources and skills and their development. Progress in this direction, which it is the

aim of my Government to encourage and promote, both in regard to Government requirements and industry generally, is essential, if productivity and the growth of our economy are not to be retarded. The success of these developments, although brought about by necessity, would have the effect of making our industry less dependent on outside sources.

The production of coal during 1957 reached a new limit of 43 million tons as against 39 million tons in 1956. Drilling and prospecting have been almost completed in many important new areas and it is expected that several new collieries will be working within a few months.

An agreement has recently been concluded with the Assam Oil Company for the formation of a Rupee Company in which Government will participate to the extent of 33.1/3 per cent for the production of oil from the Naharkatiya oilfields and for transportation of oil from there. Two refineries, one in Assam and the other in Bihar, are also to be set up. Prospecting and drilling for oil are taking place in other parts of the country also.

A non-lapsable Shipping Development Fund, with a view to finding an assured source of rupee finance for the rapid growth of Indian shipping has been established.

The multi-purpose river valley projects have made considerable progress. Mainthou Dam in the Damodar Valley was inaugurated in September last. In the Bhakra project work is proceeding ahead of schedule. In Nagarjunasagar, construction of the dam began in July last. Progress in regard to the other multi-purpose projects has also been generally satisfactory.

In the field of heavy industry, much progress has been made. In the public sector, a heavy machine building plant and a number of other projects will be financed out of a special credit offered by the Government of the U.S.S.R. A heavy foundry and forge will be set up with Czechoslovak collaboration. A fertilizer factory at Nangal is being built with the help of credit terms from the United Kingdom, France and Italy. It is proposed to build another fertilizer plant at Neyveli. The heavy electrical plant at Bhopal is being taken in hand with British collaboration. Good progress has been made in the construction of the three major steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur.

The Malaria Control Programme, which was inaugurated in 1953, has made considerable progress and reduced greatly the incidence of malaria. From control, our efforts are now being directed to a complete eradication of malaria. In regard to filaria control also, good progress has been made. Provision has been made for slum clearance and development programmes.

Marked progress continues to be made in the field of science and technology, and our National Laboratories are directing their efforts to the solution of scientific problems related to industrial and national development plans. In particular, efforts are being made for the rapid increase of technical manpower.

The work of the Department of Atomic Energy has expanded greatly during the last year. Two more reactors and several new plants are under construction. Uranium metal of atomic purity and fuel element for the reactors will be in production before the end of the current year. My Government have under consideration the construction of one or more Atomic Power Stations during the current Five Year Plan period.

The State Bank of India, which was nationalised a little more than two and a half years ago, has made considerable progress. Measures are under consideration to integrate more closely with State Bank of India certain other States associated banks of intermediate size, which will be managed as subsidiaries of the State Bank.

The Planning Commission is engaged in working out the annual plans for the States and the Centre and the necessary adjustments in the Plan as a whole, having regard to the available resources, and at the same time, to the imperative consideration of not permitting any impairment to the growth of our economy. My Government will place before you in the current session the results of these studies in regard to what is spoken of as the "Core of the Plan."

The Community Development and National Extension Service Projects have made significant progress. There are now 2,152 Blocks which comprise 2,76,000 villages and cover 15 crores of population. The National Development Council having decided that the Block should be the unit for planning and development and the common agency of all development departments, steps have been taken to integrate Departmental Development Budgets in the Block Budget. The Block Development Officer is being placed in operational control of this budget. The Development Council have also decided on greater decentralisation in regard to administration and the transfer of greater authority to people's organisations at the village, block and district levels. The pattern of such devolution will be worked out by the States according to local circumstances. A scheme for training village farm leaders has been initiated to encourage the adoption of improved agricultural methods.

The recommendations of the Official Language Commission which are being studied by a Committee of 30 Members of Parliament are under examination. Members of Parliament, you will have an early opportunity of

discussing this Report and the opinions of your Committee before any directives are issued.

Requisite action in pursuance of the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act of 1957 to establish a Corporation in the beginning of the next financial year has been taken.

Tripartite Wage Boards have been set up in the textile and sugar industries. My Government have under consideration the setting up of similar wage boards for other major industries in due course. With a view to securing the progressive participation of workers in industrial management, schemes to this end are being introduced initially in a few selected undertakings. The Employees' State Insurance Scheme is being extended and the Employees' Provident Fund Act of 1952 has been extended now to cover 19 industries. 6,215 factories and establishments are now covered under the Act. The total amount of contributions collected is about 100 crores of rupees.

The situation in the Naga Hills area has improved considerably. Government accepted the demands of the leaders of the Naga People's Convention held at Kohima in August 1957 and, as a result, a new unit comprising the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Frontier Division was created by an Act of Parliament in November last.

Sixty-eight Bills were passed by Parliament during 1957 and eight Bills are pending before you. My Government propose to introduce legislation in the current session in regard to Merchant Shipping and Trade Mark and Merchandise Marks. Certain other amending legislation in regard to various matters will also be submitted to you.

A statement of the estimated receipts and the expenditure of the Government of India for the ensuing financial year will be laid before you.

Our relations with foreign countries continued to be friendly. Since I addressed Parliament last, we have had the privilege of receiving as guests of the Republic, the Presidents of Indonesia, the Republic of Vietnam, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Vice-President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Japan and the United Kingdom, the Foreign Ministers of France and Morocco, the Finance Minister of Ghana, the Education Ministers of Ghana and Mauritius, and cultural delegations from several countries.

My Prime Minister attended the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London at the end of June. He also visited Syria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Egypt, Sudan, Japan, Burma and Ceylon. The Vice-President was also able to pay goodwill visits to China, Mongolia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Ceylon.

The world situation, while it presents no aspects of an immediate crisis, is ominous with the ever present danger of deterioration into conflict which might become world-wide, unless the present deadlocks and world tensions are eased and the way is found for peaceful co-existence of nations, more particularly between the Great Powers.

The launching of the earth satellites by the Soviet Union and the United States of America marks an epochal advance by Man in the conquest of Time and Space. They are great scientific advances, but in the context of world tensions and the presence of inter-continental ballistic missiles and other weapons, every such scientific advance can well become another threat to world peace.

The efforts towards achieving progress in disarmament stand deadlocked. Any effective solution requires the joint participation of the two Great Powers—the United States of America and the Soviet Union—and their agreement in regard to any solutions. At the last General Assembly of the United Nations, some progress was made in this direction, but deadlock continues. That General Assembly, however, passed a unanimous resolution on peaceful co-existence which, following as it did the deadlock over disarmament, gives some hope that a fresh approach may still be made.

My Government hold the opinion that a meeting at high level of the great states with any others, on whom they might agree, would help to ease tensions, would bring about an atmosphere of peaceful tolerance, as provided in the United Nations Resolution of December 14, 1957, and open the way towards the easing of tensions and some progress in the field of disarmament.

My Government have engaged themselves at the United Nations in continued efforts to help to ease tensions and to advance the view that on co-existence and respect of each other alone can solutions be found.

India has been elected as a member of the Disarmament Commission. The Commission can, however, meet effectively only if all countries concerned are willing to participate. My Government intend to do their utmost to help to bring about a solution.

My Government continues to press in the United Nations and elsewhere for the suspension of nuclear explosions, the dangers of which are becoming more and more the concern of scientists and indeed of people all over the world. My Prime Minister made an appeal to the heads of the United States of America and the Soviet Union in regard to suspension of these tests as a first step towards disarmament. My Government will continue their efforts in these fields.

The International Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China, of which India is Chairman, have continued to function effectively despite difficulties and peace in that area has been maintained. A welcome development has been an agreement reached in Laos between the Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao leaders and a political settlement there is within sight.

My Government have heard with regret and surprise reports that some countries had sought at a recent meeting of the Baghdad Pact to be equipped with atomic weapons. We profoundly believe that none of the Great Powers will give encouragement to these desires and the outlook that persists.

For ourselves, my Government desire to make it clear beyond all doubt, that while we could, if we so decided, unwisely, produce atomic weapons, with the resources and skills that we have and can develop, we have no intention whatsoever of acquiring, manufacturing or using such weapons or condoning their use by any State. Our endeavours in the atomic field will remain confined to the peaceful use of atomic energy.

Members of Parliament, I wish you success in your labours, and trust that they may help to bring greater prosperity and contentment to our people and peace and co-operation in the world.

From Strength to Strength

WE ARE near the end of the third year of the Second Five Year Plan. In my address to you last February, I drew your attention to the stresses and strains to which our economy is subject. I expressed the concern of my Government that our temporary difficulties should not lead us in the direction of retarding development and progress. Difficulties should be overcome by reconsideration and revision of methods and by planned mobilisation of resources.

In May, and again in November 1958, the National Development Council took into consideration the problems of resources, of production and of phasing relevant to the Second Plan and decided that the Plan outlay should be Rs. 4,500 crores and this total should be reached by conservation of and addition to resources.

The economic policy of my Government has this end in view. Measures have been adopted to limit and phase foreign exchange commitments and expenditure, to arrest rise in internal prices and to increase foreign earnings. Export duties on a number of commodities have been reduced or abolished and export quotas have been liberalised. In August 1958, as a result of a

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comprehensive review of regulations, export control was removed from as many as 200 commodities and the number of commodities subject to quota restrictions severely curtailed.

My Government have made successful attempts to secure foreign assistance by way of aid and loans to tide us over our temporary difficulties. Negotiations for further aid are in progress. Aid or loans from foreign countries for which my Government and our people are duly grateful are not governed by the attachment of any political conditions to them. Negotiations in regard to future assistance will also be on the same basis.

Our Second Plan is only part of the whole process of planned development of our economy. The steps we now take are but stages along the long and arduous road to planned prosperity and my Government, through the Planning Commission, have already initiated consideration and studies of the Third Plan. It is hoped that by the end of the Third Plan, a sound foundation will have been laid for future progress in regard to our basic industries, agricultural production and rural development, thus leading to a self-reliant and self-generating economy.

Planning is a national undertaking requiring the efforts of the whole nation and the co-operation of all at every stage. My Government have, therefore, called for, and look forward to a constructive, even if critical, approach by all and contribution in ideas from the different shades of opinion in Parliament and outside. To this end, my Prime Minister and the Planning Commission are seeking the co-operation of all parties.

It is proposed to prepare a preliminary Draft Outline or Plan Frame for the Third Plan by the end of this year. After the preliminary Draft Outline has been discussed and approved, detailed consideration of Central and State Plans will commence. The principal objectives which we have accepted are : a substantial increase in national income, rapid industrialisation, expansion of employment on a sufficient scale, and a reduction in inequalities of income and wealth. The Government will continue to aid and support small and cottage industries. The tempo of development already attained must be maintained and accelerated.

Food and food prices are the most important factors in the regulation of our economy. On these largely depend other factors vital to our planning and progress, such as availability of foreign resources for development, the balance of payments position, the maintenance of internal price levels and the arrest of inflation, if and when it tends to set in.

To check the rise in prices of foodgrains, in early 1958, following failure of rains and widespread damage to crops, my Government imported 2.74 million tons of foodgrains in the first eleven months of 1958, regulated internal

movement of foodgrains and made supplies, available to the consumer through Fair Price Shops. The Reserve Bank enforced its policy of restraint on availability of Bank credit for buying up of foodgrains by private parties.

In this respect self-sufficiency in food alone can provide a satisfactory solution. Increased yields, by greater and sustained efforts and the adoption of improved methods in agriculture combined with the necessary agrarian reforms, which would make agriculture both gainful and economic, are imperative. To this end, my Government will seek to promote agrarian reforms, co-operation and devolution of functions to village units.

The crop prospects for 1959-60 are in refreshing contrast to our plight last year. Nature is being kinder to us this year, and the outlook both in regard to food and commercial crops is promising. We have a very good rice crop and prices of rice have already recorded a marked fall. It is intended to build up considerable stocks and to widen the scope of state trading. Wheat and gram prices have risen, but according to present indications, the rabi crop will be good. Our development efforts, in regard to the major crops, by intensive production campaigns, greater stress on minor irrigation projects, proper utilisation and maintenance of existing works, increased momentum in the establishment of seed farms, more promising tendencies to adopt better methods, and extension of soil conservation programmes, account in a considerable measure for the more hopeful horizon in agriculture.

The Community Development programme, on which largely depend the effective extension and implementation of democracy in meaningful terms to the large masses of our people, now covers 300,000 villages and roughly a rural population of 165 millions. Measures for more effective participation of the people in this vital development are being implemented. The basic unit of our democracy, the Panchayat, is being provided with increased resources and functions. Village co-operatives are being organised and developed so as ultimately to cover the entire rural area.

Industrial production, as a whole, showed progress, but some industries, notably textiles, have suffered a set-back. Among the industries, both in the public and the private sector, which achieved a substantial increase in output were machine tools, penicillin, insecticides, paper and board, diesel engines, electric motors, sulphuric acid, caustic soda, tyres, sewing machines, bicycles and electric fans. New schemes of development and expansion in the public sector, which are in progress, cover machine building, fertilizers and drugs. Plants to build heavy electrical equipment, heavy industrial machinery and mining machinery are being set up at Bhopal, Ranchi and Durgapur, New

fertilizer plants are being established at Nangal, Rourkela and Neyveli, while Sindri has been expanded. Projects for the manufacture of drugs and antibiotics are also among the new development schemes in progress.

I had the pleasure of inaugurating the two large steel plants at Rourkela and Bhilai last week, where production of pig iron has now started. It is expected that steel will be produced in these plants before the end of the year. It is also expected that the first blast furnace at Durgapur will begin to function before the end of the year. The programme of expansion of the steel plant at Jamshedpur has been almost completed and full production will be achieved within a few months. The steel works at Burnpur will complete their expansion programme by the end of the year.

Coal production has increased. Further steps have been taken towards implementing the Neyveli Lignite Project. The Project Report of Neyveli Thermal Power Station has been accepted and action for construction initiated.

There have been advances in the development of mineralogy by way of intensive surveys and exploration, and the National Mineral Development Corporation has been established. New deposits of coal, copper and gypsum have been discovered.

The search for oil and natural gas was intensified and has yielded promising results. Drilling for oil has been continued at Jwalamukhi and Hoshiarpur in the Punjab, and will be started soon in the Sibsaigar area in Assam. The most significant development has been in the Cambay area of Bombay where oil under considerable pressure has been discovered, and there are indications of several promising oil horizons. It is hoped that by an intensive programme of test drilling, the extent of the potential oil reserves of the Cambay area will be established during this year. Considerable reserves of natural gas have also been found in Naharkatiya oilfields.

An agreement has been concluded with the Government of Rumania for the supply of equipment and assistance in the construction of an oil refinery in Assam.

The National Laboratories have played an important part in the plans of industrialization. They have harnessed the results of their research to production by erection of pilot plants, particularly for the development of coal resources for the steel plants, raw materials for refractories, and in assisting the private sector in certain problems. The Laboratories have in a number of cases made possible the use of indigenous in place of imported material, and also assisted in the utilisation of low grade ores.

My Government have taken steps in several directions to implement the purposes contained in the Scientific Policy Resolution of March 4, 1958. Close liaison exists between the National Laboratories and Industry. Laboratory training courses, and grants-in-aid schemes for research promote these relations as well as the scientific approach and the availability of scientifically skilled manpower. It has been decided to establish National Laboratories for research and development in Mechanical Engineering at Durgapur and Public Health Engineering at Nagpur.

Two more Higher Technological Institutes will be opened this year, one in Bombay with the aid of the U.S.S.R. and UNESCO, and the other in Madras with the aid of the Federal Republic of Germany. A College of Engineering is being established in Delhi with the aid of United Kingdom. The foundation-stone of this institution was laid by His Royal Highness Prince Philip, The Duke of Edinburgh, during his recent visit to India.

A new Atomic Energy Commission, with executive and financial powers, within the limits of the expenditure sanctioned by Parliament has been established. Considerable advance and expansion in the field of atomic energy, and exclusively for peaceful purposes, has been made and continues satisfactorily. The aim of planning in this field is the production of all the basic materials required for the utilisation of atomic energy for power. While large-scale achievement in this field of nuclear power must await the later stages of the Third Plan, my Government have decided to install nuclear powered plants to produce electricity of a minimum capacity of 250 thousand kilowatts.

In my address to you last year I said that uranium metal of atomic purity and fuel elements for the reactors will be in production before the end of the current year. I am glad to say that the construction of the uranium metal plant has been completed and has undergone trial runs successfully. The first ingot of atomically pure uranium metal was produced on January 30, 1959. The construction of the facility for producing fuel elements is also far advanced.

The work on the River Valley Multi-Purpose Scheme has progressed during the year according to schedule. The Report of the High Level Committee on Flood Control is under consideration of my Government.

The ports of Calcutta and Madras are to be improved at a cost of Rs. 20 crores, for which the Port authorities have entered into financial agreements with the World Bank.

My Government have met with success in their endeavours to promote industrial relations on a voluntary and agreed basis. A "Code of Discipline",

which stresses the need for recognition by employers and workers of both the rights and responsibilities of either side, has been ratified by all Central Organisations of Employers and Workers. This Code also prescribes certain norms of behaviour. It provides that unilateral action by either side should not be taken, lockouts and strikes should be avoided and the machinery for the settlement of disputes should be utilised expeditiously. The Code also prescribed sanctions to be invoked by the Workers and Employers Organisations in regard to their respective defaulting members. A Tripartite Committee has been constituted to assess the extent of the non-implementation of labour Enactments and Awards and also to secure their proper implementation. The Employees' State Insurance Scheme, which already covers nearly fourteen lakhs of workers, is being further extended. A beginning has been made in workers' participation in management and Joint Councils have been set up in several industrial undertakings, both in the public and the private sector.

There has been a substantial increase in the output of the ordnance factories which has enabled my Government to effect appreciable savings in foreign exchange. There have also been advances in scientific and industrial research and development, and the expansion of facilities in this respect. This has enabled progress in the indigenous production of the materials required for the manufacture of Defence equipment.

The Committee of Members of Parliament constituted in accordance with Article 344 of the Constitution to examine the recommendations of the Official Language Commission has submitted its Report. You will have the opportunity of considering it during the current session.

The situation in the Naga Hills has shown appreciable improvement. Cases of violence and lawlessness have markedly declined. The Nagas, generally, have appreciated the policy of my Government. In May 1958, the All-Tribal Convention reinforced the decisions of the Kohima Convention of August 1957. Large numbers of Nagas who were previously hostile and had gone underground are now pursuing normal and peaceful avocations.

The Sikkim Development Plan, which is financed by India, is making good progress. The road from Gangtok to Nathu La has been completed and is open to vehicular traffic. This road passes through a very difficult mountain terrain and our engineers are to be congratulated on the success of this undertaking. A tripartite agreement to which Nepal, the United States of America and India are parties for the construction of 900 miles of road was signed in January last year. An agreement for the construction of the Trisuli Hydro Electric Project has been concluded and work begun. This Project will generate 12,000 kilowatts of electricity for the Kathmandu Valley.

Considerable progress has been achieved in the rehabilitation of displaced persons from Pakistan. So far as the displaced persons from West Pakistan are concerned, it is hoped that the last stage of rehabilitation, that is, payment of compensation, will be completed during this year. In regard of displaced persons from East Pakistan, about 60,000 have moved from camps to rehabilitation sites during the past year. It has been decided to close the camps in West Bengal before the end of July this year. It is expected that the remaining 35,000 displaced families will have moved by that time from the camps either for work and rehabilitation in Dandakaranya, or to rehabilitation sites in other States.

My Government have recently made certain important changes in regard to arrangements for budgeting and financial control over expenditure from the Civil estimates. In order to secure a speedier implementation of our development plans, the administrative Ministries have been given wider financial powers to issue expenditure sanctions to schemes which have been included in the Budget Estimate after scrutiny by the Finance Ministry.

As Ordinance, namely, "The Indian Income Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1959", has been promulgated since the last session of Parliament. A Bill dealing with this Ordinance will be placed before Parliament.

Forty-nine were passed by Parliament during the year 1958. Thirteen Bills are pending before you. My Government intend to introduce a number of legislative proposals both by way of new Bills and amendments. Such proposals will include:

- (1) The Companies (Amendment) Bill.
- (2) Estate Duty (Amendment) Bill
- (3) The State Bank of India (Subsidiary Banks) Bills.
- (4) The Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund (Amendment) Bill,
- (5) The All-India Maternity Benefit Bill
- (6) Bill to provide for compulsory notification of vacancies by employers to Employment Exchanges.
- (7) The Geneva Convention Bill.
- (8) The Savings Bank (Amendment) Bill.
- (9) The Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill.
- (10) A Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

A statement of the estimated receipts and the expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year, 1959-60, will be laid before you.

My Government note with concern the continuance of world tensions and that basic improvements in the world situation are not yet on the horizon.

My Government, however, continue to pursue their policy of non-alignment with the great Power Blocs and of making their contribution wherever possible for the relaxation of tensions.

The vast advances in science and technology have enabled man to dare explore inter-planetary space and have opened up before him great vistas which are full of possibilities for human progress. My Government share with others the concern that these great scientific developments have hitherto been used principally for the making of weapons of mass destruction which threaten the world with annihilation.

My Government note with regret that while some progress has been made at Geneva in regard to the termination of nuclear and thermo-nuclear explosions, neither in this nor in the more fundamental problem of the prohibition of these weapons of mass destruction or in the general field of disarmament, real progress, much less a settlement, is in sight.

In September last year, my Prime Minister reached agreements with the then Prime Minister of Pakistan in regard to certain border disputes and border problems. These included an agreement for the exchange of Cooch-Bihar enclaves in Pakistan with Pakistan enclaves in India. My Government will place before you legislation to implement these agreements.

Our own relations with the countries far and near have continued to be friendly.

On the invitation of the Emperor of Japan, I visited Japan at the end of September 1958 and received a warm welcome from the Emperor and the people of Japan. In December 1958, I paid visits to Indonesia and Malaya on the invitation of the President of Indonesia and the Paramount Ruler of Malaya. In both these countries I was accorded a generous welcome by the Government and the people.

My Prime Minister, in September last year, visited Bhutan with which country we are in special Treaty relationship. He met with an affectionate welcome from the Ruler and the people of Bhutan. He has assured them of our deep and abiding friendship and our determination not to interfere in their internal affairs. We may hope that improved communications between Bhutan and India will provide closer links between our two peoples.

My Government accorded diplomatic recognition to the new regimes in Sudan, Iraq, Guinea and Cuba soon after they were established.

We had the privilege of welcoming in this country as our honoured guests during the year: His Majesty the King of Afghanistan; Their Majesties

the King and Queen of Nepal; the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; the President of Yugoslavia; the Prime Ministers of New Zealand, Turkey, Cambodia, Pakistan, Canada, Ghana, Norway, Rumania and Afghanistan; the German Federal Minister of Economics; Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, Head of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations, and the Duke of Edinburgh.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam and Cambodia continued during the year. In Laos, however, the Commission adjourned *sine die* with the provision that it may be reconvened in accordance with the normal procedures. My Government deeply regret that the situation in Laos has worsened and that the hopes to which I gave expression last year of a welcome development in that country have not been justified by events. My Government continue, however, to believe that the peace established by the Geneva Agreements will continue to endure and that the members of the International Commission will cooperate fully with one another and obtain the co-operation of the Laotian Government in the maintenance of peace. India participated in the United Nations Observation Group in the Lebanon and was able to make its modest contribution in the termination of a potentially grave situation in that area.

The happenings inside the Union of South Africa, resulting from the policy of Apartheid relentlessly pursued by the Government of the Union, inflicting suffering and indignity on the majority of the people of that country and involving the violation of human rights under the United Nations Charter, is of deep concern to us. We may, however, note with some gratification that these policies have been met with overwhelming disapproval by the United Nations. We continue to nurse the hope that the Union Government will respond to the call of world opinion and also recognize that such policies in a resurgent Africa will lead to increased racial bitterness and ultimately to conflicts which may become widespread.

My Government have welcomed the opening of the Office of the High Commissioner of New Zealand in India last year.

A number of International Conference have been held in this country in the past year. My Government have been happy to accord the hospitality and welcome of our land and people to our visitors and to contribute in a small measure to world understanding and the mutual exchanges that arise from such meetings.

Members of Parliament, I have placed before you some of the main events and achievements of the past year. We have reason to congratulate ourselves to some extent in regard to our national development and progress. We have, however, even more than ever before the duty and the

opportunity to endeavour with greater determination, discipline and sense of purpose to make our democracy a reality in terms of the masses of our people.

It is the policy, and it will continue to be the endeavour of my Government, to seek in all possible ways to uphold the dignity and independence of our land and people and to promote our unity and social well-being and to build a democratic and socialist society, in which progress is sought and attained by peaceful means and by consent.

Members of Parliament, I bid you to your labours and wish you success. May your endeavours, your unity of ultimate purpose you success. May your endeavours, your unity of ultimate purpose and your high sense of public duty bring increasing prosperity and contentment to our people, stability and security to our motherland, and assist to promote peace and co-operation in the world.

A Friend Betrays

IN THE year we have behind, my Government and our people had been engaged, more than ever before, in their endeavours in nation-building. The needs and achievements in economic and social advance are understood by our people, in town and village, in increasing measure, as basic and vital to the improvement of their conditions and standards of living and as important to their daily lives.

The incursions into parts of the territory of the Union of India, across our traditional and well understood borders, by elements of Chinese forces have, however, deeply distressed our people and evoked legitimate and widespread resentment. They impose a great strain on our resources and our nation-building endeavours. We regret and deplore these developments on our border. They have resulted from the disregard by China of the application of the principles, which it had been mutually agreed to between us, should govern our relations. My Government have taken prompt and calculated measures, both defensive and diplomatic, to meet the threat to our sovereignty.

My Government particularly deplore the unilateral use of force by our neighbour of our common frontier, where no military units of the Union were functioning. This is a breach of faith; but we may not lose faith in the principles which we regard as basic in the relations between nations.

Members of Parliament, you have been kept informed by the release, from time to time, of the correspondence between my Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of China, of the respective positions of our two countries in this matter. My Government have made it clear, beyond doubt, that they seek a peaceful approach in the settlement of outstanding matters. They have also stated and reiterated, equally clearly, that they will not accept the course, or the results of unilateral action or decision, taken by China. My Government, therefore, pursues a policy, both of a peaceful approach, by negotiation under appropriate conditions, and of being determined and ready to defend our country.

This and the weight of world public opinion which is adverse to her action should, we hope, persuade China sooner than later to come to agreement in regard to the common frontiers which for long have been well established by treaties, custom and usage. Thus, and thus alone, can friendly relations with our great neighbour which my Government and our people desire, become a reality and endure for our common good. The actions taken and the policy pursued by my Government, it may be hoped, will be adequate to convince China of both our policy and our determination.

Members of Parliament, I have referred at some length to the situation that has developed on our border and to the consequence and problems thereof. I need hardly say that in doing so I have reiterated the sentiments of our entire country and our people and their determination to defend our territory. Defence, however, is effective only with national unity and strength. Our economic and industrial advance, the gearing of our production and our Plans to greater endeavour and larger and speedier results, which will enable the country to make available to itself the means and the resources for modern defence and, at the same time, help the nation to become strong and disciplined, can alone render her secure.

Distressing as these Sino-Indian border developments have been, we may not, and we do not, relax our efforts for the planned development of our economy and our country. In point of fact, because of this situation, my Government are taking steps to speed up further, organize and streamline our economic development.

The work on the preparation of the frame and the outline of the Third Five Year Plan with its longer perspective and higher targets is making good progress. The objective of the Third Five Year Plan is to seek almost to double the national income, taking 1950-51 as the basic level, and to pay much greater attention to agricultural production and to our food requirements, to heavy machine building and to the development of basic resources such as steel, fuel and power. Small scale and rural industries,

the speedier and healthy development of our rural economy and the healthy relationship between rural areas and industrial centres are among the main aims of the Plan.

The Third Five Year Plan represents a critical period in our national development. It aims at making our economy more self-reliant and capable of increasing and generating resources for its further and larger development. It calls for sustained efforts and endurance of our people. Thus, our Third Plan will keep well in view, both in its own developmental aspects as well as the requirements and the perspective of the Fourth Plan to follow. While we are grateful for external aid and loans as necessary in the present stage of our development, we should, in our own interest, in consideration of those who have been our good and generous friends, and the needs of the underdeveloped areas of the world, strive to shed our dependence.

The country's foreign exchange position while it shows no deterioration, remains more or less unchanged. My Government, therefore, pursue a policy to create a more favourable balance of trade and to earn more foreign exchange by strict control over imports and efforts to increase exports. It will be the endeavour of my Government to conserve our foreign resources and add to the volume of our invisible exports in which there still exists unutilised a vast and increasing field.

Our industrial production shows a pronounced upward trend, and for the first ten months of the year an increase of over ten points has been recorded, from 138 to 149.3, over the last year's figures. This is an all-round increase to which all industries have contributed, but special mention may be made of the rise in the output of metallurgical industries. The three steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur have gone into production in 1959. There has been a fifty per cent increase in the production of pig iron and a somewhat lower, though considerable, increase in the output of steel.

The iron and steel output would help to advance the heavy machine building projects. My Government have already sanctioned a number of machine building and other projects for the Third Five Year Plan. These include the doubling of the Heavy Machinery Project at Ranchi and the steel production at Bhilai, the expansion of the Heavy Electrical Project at Bhopal, a number of new projects for power, fertiliser plants and Heavy Machine Tools.

The Chemical Industry has also witnessed appreciable advance. An Intermediate Plant to provide the basic raw materials for the manufacture of dyestuffs, drugs, explosives and plastics is being established.

The endeavours of our Railway organization to attain self-sufficiency in regard to essential equipment have enabled it not only to meet all the

requirements of steam locomotives, coaches, wagons, signaling and lighting equipment, but also to yield a surplus for export.

Mining activities in the public sector have increased considerable. The Geological Survey of India has been expanded to undertake search and intensive investigation in virgin areas in minerals essential to our expanding economy.

A Statutory Oil and Natural Gas Commission has been established. The search for and discovery of oil in different parts of the country continues. Sixty oil wells have been drilled in Nahorkatiya for the production of crude oil required for the two State-owned Refineries in Assam and Bihar and the construction of the Refinery in Assam is in progress.

My Government have entered into an agreement with the Government of the U.S.S.R. for the supply of equipment for the construction of the Refinery at Barauni in Bihar.

My Government are alive to the requirement of scientists, technicians and technologists for our expanding economy. Measures are being taken to set up progressively the output in these cadres and to provide increasingly better career opportunities and a higher status for the old and new entrants. In our developing economy, there are ever growing opportunities of service in these fields, which are so important to our planned development on modern lines.

Our Atomic Energy organisation has recorded commendable progress. Increased production of isotopes, the fabrication of fuel elements, the Uranium metal Plant at Trombay, the extraction of plutonium from the used fuel elements and mining of uranium are among the achievements of this organisation. The preliminary work for the setting up of the first nuclear power station is well in hand. The uranium which is sought to be mined in Bihar will supply sufficient raw material to feed the first nuclear power station.

An additional tonnage, of the lakh gross, was added to the Indian Merchant Fleet. A National Shipping Board and a statutory non-lapsing shipping development fund have been established. Indian shipping, which has suffered many handicaps in the pre-Independence period, will continue to receive all possible assistance in its modernisation and development. My Government is fully aware of the place of the Merchant Navy in our economy, in the conservation and earning of foreign exchange and in its auxiliary and reserve roles in the defence of our long sea coast.

The Code of Discipline evolved in 1958 has improved the climate of industrial relations in the country and created more favourable conditions of

the maintenance of industrial peace and increase of efficiency. Compared to the previous year, there has been an appreciable reduction in the loss of man days of work in 1959.

The Employees State Insurance Scheme has been extended to further areas and now covers about 14.5 lakhs of factory workers, while medical care under the Scheme has been extended to about 12 lakhs of members of the workers' families.

In the field of National Education, the teaching of science subjects, expansion of girls' education and the training of women teachers have made good progress and are gathering momentum. All eligible college students belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are receiving stipends.

Advance in the production of food is vital to the sustenance, expansion and strength of our economy. Foodgrains production attained a record level of 73.5 million tons and cash crops also recorded satisfactory yields resulting in the overall increase in the Index of Agricultural Production to 131.0, an increase of 14.3 per cent over the previous record in 1957-58. We cannot, however, feel satisfied, much less complacent, about the food production in our country. Each year, we are obliged to import considerable quantities of foodgrains for consumption and for reserve stocks, causing great stress on our slender foreign exchange resources and rendering our economy far from self-reliant. Our production per acre falls short of the yields in many of the countries of Asia, Europe or America. My Government are giving greater attention to the increased production of fertilisers and to the supply of good seeds. It is, however, by better cultivation, avoidance of waste through pests, better animal husbandry, the advance of co-operation both in production and in marketing, and by the determination of the people to be self-reliant, that individual and national prosperity can be achieved.

To enable greater participation in the conduct of affairs and the development of our economy by the people of the country as a whole, my Government have encouraged schemes of devolution of authority to statutory institutions of the people at the basic level of our great and growing democracy. This scheme of Panchayati Raj has already been inaugurated in Rajasthan and in Andhra Pradesh and is making progress in other States. To make the working of the Panchayati Raj efficient, a comprehensive programme of training non-officials of all categories has been undertaken.

Defence production has made satisfactory progress. Plans of expansion in this field, both of production and of capacity, are under consideration and will be progressively implemented.

My Government have taken steps to expand the National Cadet Corps in the coming year and to form units of nursing and auxiliary services for

girls. The Territorial Army and the Lok Sahayak Sena will also be expanded in numbers, and certain changes introduced in regard to their training and reserve liabilities.

A number of measures for the improvement of the conditions of service in the various categories in the Armed Forces have been implemented.

The resettlement of ex-servicemen and the utilisation of the reservoir of disciplined manpower that they provide are continually engaging the attention of my Government. Scheme of technical and vocational training and guidance and of self-help by co-operatives are promoted. Welfare and re-settlement of ex-servicemen are integral to defence considerations and provide a necessary incentive and legitimate measure of hope and security for those who serve the Armed Forces.

Members of Parliament are aware that in the Proclamation issued in relation to the State of Kerala on July 31, 1959, which was approved by Resolutions passed by the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, it was provided that the general election for constituting a new Legislative Assembly for that State shall be held as soon as possible. The general election was accordingly held and polling took place in the entire State on February 1, the number of voters exercising their franchise being one of the highest recorded in any election. The Proclamation will be revoked and the normal constitutional machinery restored in the State shortly.

Parliament decided during the last session to extend the safeguards provided in the Constitution for the reservation of seats of members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha and the State Legislatures by a further period of ten years and the Constitution (Eighth Amendment Act) embodying this decision has received my assent. Government also propose to appoint a Commission as required under Article 339 of the Constitution to examine and report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and welfare of the Scheduled Tribes in the States.

Sixty-three Bills were passed by Parliament 1959. Fifteen Bills are pending before you. My Government intend to introduce a number of legislative proposals both by way of Bills and amendments. Such proposals will include:

1. The Atomic Energy Bill
2. The Indian Telegraph (Amendment) Bill
3. The Agricultural Produce (Development and Warehousing) Corporation Bill.
4. The Forward Contracts (Regulation) Amendment Bill.

5. The Indian Patents and Designs Bill.
6. The Employee's Provident Fund (Amendment) Bill.
7. The Dock Worker's (Regulation of Employment) Bill.
8. The Plantation Labour (Amendment) Bill.
9. The Central Maternity Benefit Bill.
10. The Indian Sales of Goods (Amendment) Bill.
11. The Religious Trusts Bill
12. The Two-Member Constituencies (Abolition) Bill.
13. The Payment of Wages (Amendment) Bill.

My Government also propose to introduce a Bill for the re-organisation of the present Bombay State and to reconstitute it as two separate States.

My Government have already announced their decisions on the major recommendations of the Pay Commission. The Other re-commendation are under their active consideration. The additional commitments on account of the pay, allowances and pensionary charges alone are estimated to be about thirty-one crores per annum, in respect of the Service directly covered by the Jagannadha Das Commission of Enquiry.

A statement of the estimated Receipts and Expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1960-61 will be laid before you.

My Government note with gratification the relaxation in world tensions and the prospect of high level meetings of the Heads of Governments for the promotion of world disarmament and peace. The initiative of great statesmen, notably the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, deserve the attention and appreciation of our country and people. My Government, while welcoming the continuance of the voluntary unilateral suspension of nuclear test explosions and the increasing endeavours of both the United States of America and the Soviet Union to solve this problem reiterate their view that the testing of weapons of mass destruction should be abandoned.

We welcome these trends and the direct contacts between the leaders of the Great Powers and wish success to their efforts, which we feel assured are inspired with sincere desire to halt that armaments race and for world peace.

We also welcome whole-heartedly, in the midst of the awesome growth of armaments and the fear and passions from which they spring and on which they rest, the newer development of the projection of the picture of

a warless world wherein nations will not only lay down their arms, but reject war as a method of settling disputes and devote their energies and resources to the building of a peaceful world.

Devoted as my Government and people are to world peace and co-operation, they are determined to adhere to a peaceful approach and the policy of non-alignment, to both of which our country stands fully committed by history and outlook, faith and conduct, and by the overwhelming desires and convictions of our people. Parliament has expressly endorsed this policy on several occasions.

I have had the privilege and pleasure of visiting, Cambodia, the Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Laos and Ceylon, and to receive the generous welcome and joyous greetings of their Governments and people.

I was happy to welcome to our Capital the President of the United States of America, and later the President of the Soviet Union, who in their persons represent not only the greatness and power of their countries, but also the fervent desires of their peoples for world peace. We are looking forward to the visit of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Khrushchev, another messenger of peace in the world today. The goodwill and moral support of this country will be behind the efforts of these two great countries, and those of others, in full measure in their search for disarmament and peace.

My Government were glad to welcome the Prime Ministers of Afghanistan, Australia, Cambodia, Ghana, Nepal and Sweden. We look forward to the visits of President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, His Majesty the King of Morocco and the Prime Minister of Finland.

The Vice-President visited the Philippines, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, receiving cordial welcome from the Governments and the people there.

My Prime Minister visited Afghanistan, Iran and Nepal, and was welcomed with an abundance of goodwill.

The exchange of visits of my Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Nepal has further strengthened the bonds of affinity and friendship and proclaimed the desire and determination for co-operation in the interests of our two countries.

Our relations with Commonwealth countries and our participation at various Commonwealth gatherings have served to create greater understanding of our internal and external policies and, in an appreciable measure, served also to assist our economic development.

I am happy to note that further agreements have been reached with Pakistan in regard to our boundary disputes. It is the hope of my Government that these arrangements with Pakistan will lead to a successful delimitation of our boundaries along our frontiers with our neighbour with whom we have always desired to remain in friendly relations.

Progress has also been made in regard to the settlement of financial issues pending between India and Pakistan, and it is hoped that the long-standing Canal Waters dispute will be settled soon. I welcome these developments which bring promise of closer relations between our two countries.

The Government and the people of India were deeply grieved and shocked to learn of the assassination of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, the late S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, on September 25, 1959. He was a great friend of India and visited us several times. Our heartfelt sympathies went out to the Government and people of Ceylon, as well as to Mrs. Bandaranaike and her children.

In the United Nations, our delegation reflected the deep feelings of our people in regard to the problem of the liberation of colonial countries and, more particularly, in regard to Algeria in the sustained struggle of the Algerian people for their national independence.

We welcome the independence of the Cameroons, till recently under French administration. We look forward to the emergence to nationhood in the coming years of several other colonial areas in Africa.

The policy of apartheid, pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa, inflicts untold suffering and indignity on the majority of the people who are subjects to that Government. These include large numbers of people of Indian origin. This policy constitutes a violation of Human Rights under the Charter of the United Nations, and it has again met with overwhelming disapproval by the United Nations in the last session of the General Assembly.

My Government have decided to exchange diplomatic representatives with Cuba, Venezuela and Colombia in South America and Guinea in Africa.

Members of Parliament, I have placed before you the main events and achievements and our concerns of the past year. I have also projected before you some of the great tasks and burdens that are in front of us. They must engage your dedicated attention. Your understanding and co-operation, in regard to problems of our economic planning, the defence of our country and our contribution to world peace, are required by our

Government and people in increasing measures. Thus will Parliament fulfill its historic role in our Constitution.

We have celebrated this year the tenth anniversary of our young Republic. Our Constitution which we gave unto ourselves, wherein all power and authority are based upon and spring from the people, has endured and grown in strength. The policies and achievements of my Government and of our people have strengthened our democracy and continue to import into it economic and social content in an increasing measure.

We are fortunate in the historic background that our national struggle developed and the inspiration that the life and example of the Father of the Nation gave to us. In this eleventh year of our young Republic, we may look back as well as forward, with pride and confidence, though not with complacency. The tasks ahead of us are stupendous. They call for constant vigilance, greater determination and discipline and a sense of purpose both among our people and in our administration. This alone will make our democracy a reality in terms of the masses of our people.

Our vast resources and the qualities of our people have become engaged in the tremendous task of construction and progress that lie ahead of us. In these, the quality of our administration into which must be imported an ever-increasing sense of urgency, rationalisation of procedures, the emergency and development of greater confidence at all levels, and the avoidance of waste of manpower and time, must be an urgent consideration.

It will continue to be the constant endeavour of my Government to initiate and further, efforts and plans to bridge the gaps between the time of formulation of policies and their implementation, to enable our people to participate at all levels in our economic and social developments, and for them to feel a sense of function and dignity which Independence has brought to us.

My Government seeks to uphold the dignity and independence of our land and people, to promote our unity social well-being, and to build a democratic and socialist society in which progress is sought and attained by peaceful means and by consent.

Members of Parliament, I bid you to your labours in this new session and wish you all success. I earnestly trust that wisdom and tolerance and a spirit of co-operative endeavour will guide you. May your labours bear fruit for the good of our country and our people and the world whom we are all privileged to serve.

New Peaks in Agriculture and Industry

THE YEAR we have left behind has been one of considerable stress and strain both internally and externally. My Government have faced the problems that arose by their strenuous endeavours and by firm adherence to the principles of their basic policy, and with confidence in the future. Though many and stubborn problems still await solution, or are in the process of being solved, the situation both at home and abroad shows signs of improvement and justifies hope and cautious optimism.

The problems of aggression on and incursions into the sovereign territory of the Union have yet to be resolved, but my Government is well alert to them and to all their implications. Defensive arrangements, including the opening up of areas by better communications and development, receive their continuous and careful attention.

While China has withdrawn from the military post it had established at Longju and not attempted any further violations of Union territory, her intransigence continues. It is the constant endeavour of my Government to maintain our defensive strength in the face of this continuing hostility from across our frontier. My Government will, however, seek to adhere firmly to the principles which this Nation regards as basic in our relations with nations. They cannot accept the results of unilateral action or decisions taken by China.

This peaceful but firm policy and progressive preparedness for defence, has the support of our people and has also profoundly influenced world opinion. We firmly hold that the frontiers between India and China have been for long well established by treaties, custom and usage. In spite of present unwillingness, or even intransigence, my Government hope that, sooner rather than later, China will persuade herself to come to a satisfactory agreement with our country in regard to our common frontiers. Friendly relations with our great neighbour, which my Government have always sought to promote, can then become a reality which will endure and contribute to our common good and to stability in Asia and the world.

In pursuance of the agreement announced in the joint communiqué, issued in April last at the end of the meeting in Delhi between the Prime Minister of China and my Prime Minister, designated officials from their respective Governments have been engaged in talks in New Delhi, Peking and Rangoon. These talks have now concluded. The report submitted to my Government by their officials will be laid before Parliament.

My Government have welcomed the emergence of many independent countries in the continent of Africa to full statehood and their admission as full members in the United Nations. This awakening of Africa and the emergence of many sovereign republics is a matter of gratification to us. We welcome especially their declarations to remain unaligned and not to become involved in the cold war conflict. This constitutes a welcome vindication, on merits, of the policy consistently followed by my Government in regard to international relations.

The situation in the Congo continues to cause my Government deep concern, involving as it does the freedom and integrity of this recently liberated country, the progress and development of the African continent itself, as well as both the prestige and potency of the United Nations as an instrument for setting international problems and the protection of the weak against aggressive countries. The pressure of Belgian arms, military and semi-military personnel, and their aid to some of the rival groups in the Congo, in defiance of reiterated decisions of the United Nations, are the main disturbing factors in the Congo situation.

My Government will continue to follow a policy based upon their dedication to the purposes of the United Nations and their desire to see the Congolese people in the full enjoyment of their newly-won freedom. To this end, my Government have consistently urged the withdrawal of the Belgians, the release of political personalities and more particularly those who have parliamentary immunities, the neutralization of factional forces and armed groups, and the summoning of Parliament and the restoration of constitutional authority.

Nearer our own country, in Laos also, a situation has developed that causes grave concern. My Government continue to use their best endeavours for the reactivation of the International Commission with the consent and authority of all concerned, to prevent further deterioration of the situation. Spread of conflict there might have serious repercussions in Asia and the world, and it is the policy of my Government to endeavour to avert it.

Goa continues to be under the colonial domination of Portugal. My Government stand committed to the peaceful liberation of this part of India where a decadent colonization still survives.

India's relations with her neighbours and other countries have continued to be peaceful. My Government, firmly adhering to the policy of peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness, seek to promote these relations without becoming entangled in military alliances with one country or another.

To promote goodwill, there have been exchanges of visits with other countries. I visited the Soviet Union to return the courtesy of the visit of the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to India. I am grateful for the warm welcome which the President, this Government and the people of his country extended to me. The Vice-President visited the United States of America and France.

My Prime Minister paid visits to the United Arab Republic, Lebanon, Turkey and Pakistan. Other Ministers and some special representatives of Government have visited various countries either on missions of goodwill or for definite purposes. These countries include Ceylon, Mexico, the countries of Western and Eastern Europe, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana and the Mongolian People's Republic.

Diplomatic representation was established last year with the Republics of Uruguay, Paraguay, the Congo and the Malagasy Republic.

My Government welcomed the emergence of Cyprus as an independent Republic, thus terminating the long period of colonial domination.

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and His Royal Highness the Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, kindly accepted my invitation to visit India. We have been happy to have them with us, and they are the honoured and welcome guests not only of myself, but of my Government and our people.

We have also had the privilege of welcoming to our country, Their Imperial Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan, representing His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Mr. Khrushchev, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, His Majesty the King of Nepal, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, President Soekarno of Indonesia, President Sekou Toure of Guinea, Professor Theodore Heuss, former president of the Federal Republic of Germany, vice-President Macapagal of the Philippines, and the Prime Ministers of China, Burma, Poland, Nepal and Ceylon. We are also happy to receive Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bhutan and Sikkim as our distinguished guests. The visits of all these high dignitaries have been a great honour to us.

The main issue before the world today is that of disarmament. My Government have persevered on every occasion, more particularly in the United Nations, to assist to formulate a basis of agreement among nations, more especially among the Great Powers, in this regard. To this end, my Government have placed proposals before the General Assembly of the United Nations, the purpose of which is that disarmament negotiations should be definitely directed to the outlawing of war as an instrument for settling disputes between countries.

The Union of South Africa persists, much to our regret and in spite of every effort that we make, to discriminate against her nationals of Indian origin and to build her society on the basis of total racial discrimination, that is, apartheid. The disregard of human dignity, the violation of human rights and the policy and practice of apartheid have showed the world more than ever before.

The outline of the Third Five Plan has been completed by the Planning Commission with the cooperation of the State Governments and has been approved in principle by the National Development Council. As soon as the Draft Report is ready, it will be placed again before the National Development Council, and later before Parliament.

The national income for 1959-60 is estimated to be Rs.12,210 crores at 1952-53 prices, as compared with Rs.10,920 crores in 1955-56. The annual rate of increase has not been as much as we had hoped. This was due to severe setbacks suffered by agriculture in 1957-58 and 1959-60. This year's crops, however, are expected to be good and industrial production is rapidly rising.

Price levels have registered a rise of about 6 per cent as compared to the previous year. Various measures that my Government have taken have checked this rise and, in some cases, such as cloth, prices have shown a downward movement because of Government action. In spite of the difficulties encountered and the decline in our foreign exchange reserves, the outlook both in agriculture and industry, is definitely promising.

Panchayati Raj, or village democracy, has made rapid strides. My Government hope that before the end of 1961, Panchayati Raj institutions would have been introduced in all the States. An elaborate programme for the training of non-officials to help these institutions efficiently, has been inaugurated. Service Co-operatives have increased their membership by approximately 18 million and are expected to disburse loans to the extent of 190 crores of rupees.

Agricultural production has again shown definite improvement in 1960-61. The production of Kharif cereals in 1960-61 is now estimated to be more than two million tons higher than that in 1959-60, and it is expected to be higher than even in 1958-59 when our production figure was the highest in record. The prospects of the Rabi crop are also bright. On the whole, 1960-61 may turn out to be a very good year from the point of view of agricultural production. The increase in internal production, along with the measures taken by my Government to build up substantial reserve stocks, has already brought about a healthy trend in foodgrain prices. The targets of minor irrigation and seed multiplication farms, laid down in the Second

Five Year Plan are expected to be realised almost fully. Intensive cultivation is being encouraged throughout the country, and more especially, in selected areas. Under the Third Five year Plan, agricultural development is being given a high priority, so as to provide a strong base for the economic development of the country. The aim is to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains, and to increase considerably other forms of agricultural production.

Industrial output has risen, in some cases, spectacularly. For the first ten months of 1960, the production index was 167 as against 149 for the corresponding period of the previous year. The three steel plants in the public sector have been almost completed and are now in progressive production. The manufacture of industrial machinery and machine tools has made satisfactory progress. New sources of oil have been discovered, notably in Ankleshwar in Gujarat and Sibsagar in Assam. It is expected that trial production will commence this year. Work on two refineries is proceeding, and third refinery is also going to be established.

The prospects of the use of atomic energy for industrial purposes, as well as for medical and agricultural uses, have advanced by the inauguration of the third reactor, the Canada-India reactor, which came into operation recently.

Among multi-purpose river valley projects, the Chambal River Project, the Gandhi Sagar Dam and the Kotah Barrage were inaugurated, and two of the five units of 90,000 kilowatts each have been commissioned at Bhakra. The remaining three units are likely to be commissioned in the course of the next few months.

Labour relations, apart from the recent regrettable strike by Government employees, have improved. The Code of Discipline has exercised a healthy influence, and there is an appreciable fall in the number of days lost. The Employees' State Insurance Scheme has been extended to further areas to cover about 15.8 lakh factory workers. Tripartite wage boards have already dealt with major industries of cotton textiles, cement and sugar and have been set up for jute and tea plantations. Pilot schemes for workers' participation in management have been introduced in some industrial units.

Progress has been made in regard to the introduction of Hindi in the administration. A Central Hindi Directorate has been constituted to carry out the decisions of Government regarding the development and propagation of Hindi.

As Members of Parliament are aware, in July last my Government decided in consultation with the Naga leaders to constitute a separate State of Nagaland within the Indian Union. As a first step, I have promulgated a

Regulation under which representatives have been elected to an Interim Body to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland during the transitional period. My Government are determined to put down the hostile elements which are creating so much hardship and suffering for the people there.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1961-62 will, as usual, be laid before you.

Two Ordinances, namely, "The U. P. Sugarcane Cess (Validation) Ordinance" and "The Banking Companies (Amendment) Ordinance", have been promulgated since the last Session of Parliament.

Members of Parliament, since I addressed you last, your two Houses have passed 67 Bills. There are 16 Bills pending before you from the last session. My Government will take steps to seek the passage of these Bills during the session.

My Government propose to take appropriate steps for the convening of a joint session of Parliament for the consideration of the Dowry Prohibition Bill in regard to which the two Houses have differed in some respects.

My Government will place before you the following Bills, among others, for your consideration:

1. The Income-Tax (Amendment) Bill.
2. The Extradition Bill.
3. The Indian Patents and Designs Bill.
4. The Essential Commodities (Amendment) Bill.
5. The Sugar Export Promotion (Amendment) Bill.
6. The Narcotics Bill.
7. The Apprenticeship Training Bill.
8. The Himachal Pradesh Abolition of Big Landed Estates and Land Reforms (Amendment) Bill

Members of Parliament, I have drawn your attention to some of the main events and achievements for the past year. I have also projected before you my Government's programme for the coming year. I have drawn your attention to the great tasks and burdens that are in front of us all. I have no doubt that these will engage your dedicated attention. Your understanding, vigilance and cooperation in respect of the many problems of our economic planning, our defence, world peace and the struggle of still dependent peoples, will, I feel sure, be available to my Government and help to reassure our people. The resources of our country and the qualities

of our people stand engaged in the historic and tremendous tasks of national reconstruction and progress that are part of our destiny.

My Government will constantly endeavour to initiate and promote efforts and schemes to shorten the time between their decisions on policies and the implementation thereof. They will seek to enable our democracy to share and participate at all levels in the great economic and social developments that must progress, if we are to survive as an independent nation with dignity and a sense of fruitful function. The unity and the social well-being of our entire people, the rapid progress to a democratic and socialist society, wherein changes must be timely and progress grow from more to more, must be attained peacefully and by consent.

Members of Parliament, I now bid you to your arduous labours and wish you success in them. I am confident that wisdom and tolerance and the spirit of co-operative endeavour will be your guide. May your labours yield a rich harvest and thus advance our country and people and the world which we are all pledged to serve.

Planning with a Broad Perspective

THIS IS the last occasion that I shall be addressing you in this Parliament.

Members of the Lok Sabha, you are about to end your five years tenure of membership of your House. A new Lok Sabha will meet very shortly after the conclusion of your present labours. Many of you have been returned by the people to serve the country again. Some of you will cease to be Members of Parliament consequent to the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and the elections. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate all of you and to convey to you the gratitude of the nation for your dedicated service as Members of Parliament. I have also no doubt that wherever your field of work may be hereafter you will remain dedicated to the great task of nation building and that your wisdom and experience will continue to be engaged in the service of our country and people.

Members of Parliament, when I addressed you last, our Third Five Year Plan with its larger perspectives and higher targets was under preparation. The Plan has now been well launched. The experience of the previous plans, the momentum that they have generated, and the greater nation-wide understanding and appreciation of planned effort in nation-building augur well for the success of this Plan and will take us nearer our goal—

a self-sustaining economy capable of increasing and generating resources for larger and further development.

In spite of the heavy damage inflicted by floods in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Madras and Kerala, the agricultural yield for 1961-62 is encouraging. The development of agriculture has been accorded a high priority in the Third Five Year Plan. The aim has been not merely to achieve self-sufficiency in foodgrains but to step up the production of commercial crops as well as to ensure adequate supplies of raw material for our growing industries and to help export to earn foreign exchange. The overall index number of agricultural production rose to 139.1 in 1960-61, compared to 128.7 in 1959-60, thereby showing an increase of 8.1 per cent. This increase was shared both by foodgrains and commercial crops. Compared to the index for 1955-56, the base year of the Second Five Year Plan, the overall index of production for 1960-61 was higher by about 19.1 per cent.

By soil conservation measures and dry farming practices some 33 million acres of land will be brought under improvement. Minor irrigation schemes will bring 12.8 million acres of additional land under cultivation during the Third Plan. My Government have decided to set up an Improved Seed Corporation to organise on a nation-wide scale the production, distribution and marketing of seeds of higher yield and disease-resisting quality. The demand for fertilizers far exceeds supply. More fertilizer factories are therefore, being set up to meet partly the increased needs. Local manure resources and the use of green manure are also being promoted.

An extensive Agricultural District Programme has been put into operation in selected districts in seven States. Crop production campaigns have been launched in all States during the year. Panchayats, Cooperatives and other institutions in the village are closely associated in these campaigns. Four new Agricultural Colleges and two new Veterinary Colleges and more Agricultural Universities are to be established during the Third Plan.

Industrial production has registered considerable increase in volume and a greater diversity in categories of projects. The output in iron and steel, machinery, electrical goods and fertilizers has been significantly higher than last year. The attainment of targets and the increase in our national income in 1961-62 we expected to accord with those set out in the plan.

There is, however, no room for complacency or any slackening in effort. There are considerable strains and stresses, as for example, in regard to transport and supplies of coal. These are no doubt due to the sharp rise in economic development.

A determined effort to implement the physical programmes as set out in the Plan would require care in regard to economy and efficiency and the endeavour to keep to time schedules and priorities, all of which are the continuing concern of my Government, will alone help the country to overcome these obstacles.

My Government have decided to expand the steel plants at Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur and to establish a new integrated iron and steel plant at Bokaro and a new alloy steel plant at Durgapur.

The augmented target for coal production of 97 million in the Third Plan calls for plans of development in this industry. Major schemes are being launched in the public sector with the assistance from the U.S.A., France, Poland, West Germany and the U.S.S.R. The private sector in coal will be able to utilise a \$ 35 million loan from the World Bank to meet its foreign exchange requirements.

At Neyveli, the lignite bed was exposed in August last year. The first thermal power station using lignite is expected to be commissioned soon.

In Gujarat at Ankleshwar, appreciable and gainfully exploitable sources of oil have been found. In addition to the refinery at Nunamati which went on stream in January 1962, it is also proposed to establish a refinery of two million ton capacity in Gujarat.

Our trade deficits show a welcome decline from 364 crores to 218 crores as compared with the previous twelve-month period due to the fall in imports and a slight rise in exports. My Government by their continuous and strenuous endeavours to promote exports have added new items of export and newer markets, and established new incentives to augment export trade. While the increase in export a moderate Rs.34 crores worth in the year past we may justifiably feel encouraged that a favourable trend in our trade balance can now be a feature of our economy.

The Code of Discipline in industrial relations evolved in May 1958 on a voluntary basis is being increasingly observed and has resulted in the settlement of a large number of disputes which might otherwise have led to direct action by one side or the other. Joint Management Councils in industrial undertakings set up on a voluntary basis have shown that the effective consultation which they promote had led to improved industrial relations and increased productivity.

The development and growth of Panchyati Raj and Co-operation are integral to progressive agricultural and rural development. The efforts of my Government in this direction have already resulted in large scale extension of village self-government in eight States and it is estimated that this covers 65 per cent of the country's population.

My Government have made provision for education for all children in the age group of 6—11 during the Third Plan which will enable 90 per cent of the boys and about 62 per cent of the girls to be at school making a total of 76 per cent of the total population of all children in the age group 6—11. Legislation to make attendance of children compulsory will be recommended to various State Governments.

The study of Sanskrit is expected to make considerable advance in the next few years by the establishment of a Central Sanskrit Institute at Tirupati which will also conduct research in specialised branches of Sanskrit learning.

The demand for trained personnel in the fields of Engineering and Technology continues to grow. To meet this demand, apart from strengthening the existing institutions, more institutes were set up in different parts of the country.

To assist poor but meritorious students a large number of scholarships have been instituted.

The policy of my Government accords priority in promoting measures for the eradication of communicable diseases. This has resulted in the near eradication of malaria and the widespread control of tuberculosis and venereal diseases. My Government have recently initiated a programme for the eradication of small-pox in the country.

To overcome the scarcity of pure drinking water which exists in the majority of our villages, assistance will now be made available to the extent of 50 per cent on a grant-in-aid basis on approved rural schemes and on a 100 per cent loan basis in regard to urban schemes.

Irrigation has made significant advances. The 43 crores Narmada Project inaugurated in April 1961 will irrigate one million acres of land and yield an effective half a million kilowatts of power.

The First channel of the Rajasthan Canal system was opened by the Vice-President in October last. This canal when completed and operated will convert the deserts of Rajasthan into the largest grain bowl of India.

The new broad-gauge line to Siliguri via Malda has re-established a broad-gauge rail connection between Calcutta and North Bengal, which had been severed by the Partition. Over 700 route kilometers of railway lines serving the industrial East have been electrified.

Two important centenaries were celebrated during the year and observed nationally. The Tagore Centenary attracted distinguished writers from all over the world to its International Literary Seminar. The Centenary programme includes the erection of a Tagore Theatre in every State Capital.

The Archaeological Survey of India also celebrated its centenary which attracted to its International Conference of Asian Archaeology savants from different parts of the world. The exhibition in Delhi made live to our people in graphic form the historic continuity of our civilisation and made the past not a story of ruins and fossils, but a source of national pride and inspiration.

India's uneasy relations with China remain unsolved. The Officials' Report, which was placed by my Government before Parliament in 1961, has not yet been published in China.

The Indo-Tibetan Agreement of 1954 is due to expire on June 2, 1962. The Government of the People's Republic of China have offered to negotiate a new Agreement to replace the 1954 Agreement. My Government responding by way of reply, have asked for a reversal of the aggressive policies pursued by our neighbour and for the restoration of a climate of peace on the basis of strict observance of the Five Principles.

In the Congo, as Parliament is aware, my Government at a critical period took a crucial decision to send adequate armed forces to assist the United Nations, although it was and continues to be a great strain upon us to do so. Our men and officers have behaved with remarkable bravery, discipline and restraint and above all, with understanding. They have received the plaudits of nationals of all countries not to speak of the United Nations authorities. While we would like to bring these troops home in view of our own necessities, my Government feel that the essential tasks for which India sent troops remain unfulfilled and, therefore, have agreed to continue the assistance which was given, even though our men are working in difficult conditions and have taken necessary steps for the relief of personnel that have been too long in Africa. My Government are also gratified that in this matter there are some indications of a co-operative United Nations outlook between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union.

My Government note with great relief and gratification the moves towards reconciliation on the basis of the independence of Algeria. They are deeply distressed at the continued violence which is taking a heavy toll of life, and they await with expectation the successful outcome of the present Algerian-de Gaulle efforts. My Government have repeatedly proclaimed their position that the only firm basis for a peaceful settlement is the independence of the Algerian people, and enduring peace is best brought about by peaceful methods.

India has been elected to the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee. My Government have accepted this onerous role in the hope that the policies to

be pursued and the contribution which we have made in the past may help healthy developments, and that as a peace-minded country and with the growth of peace areas in the world India may be able to participate and assist the processes of reconciliation and peaceful settlement. Meanwhile my Government will use their best efforts in every direction to lower tensions in the world. My Government hope that the Disarmament negotiations will, in spite of difficulties, lead to a warless world which is our aim and policy.

My Government continue their participation in the International Conference on Laos at Geneva and the International Commission for Supervision and Control. We have adhered to the policy that the Laotian problem can only be solved on the basis of national independence and of the full freedom of the people and Government of Laos to maintain neutrality which should be assured by all concerned. Although the problems await solution the indications are that we may look forward to a Laotian Government wedded to these principles under the Premiership of that distinguished statesman, Prince Souvanna Phouma. We are continuing to participate in the International Commissions for Supervision and Control in Vietnam and Cambodia in the interests of peace.

My Government also continue their participation in the U.N. Emergency Force in Gaza to which India has contributed a contingent.

We welcome to the comity of independent nations several African States including many States in the former French Colonial Africa, Sierra Leone, formerly British, and Tanganyika, a former Mandated Territory under British Administration.

We have appointed diplomatic representatives to Syria, Senegal and Tanganyika, and established trade relations with Kuwait and with North and South Korea whose representatives also visited this country.

We welcome the emergence of Western Samoa as an independent country.

My Government have concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The President of the Soviet Union, the King and Queen of Malaya, King Mahendra of Nepal, President Frondizi of Argentina, President Zawadski of Poland, the Vice-Presidents of the U.S.A. and the U.A.R., the Prime Ministers of Denmark, Hungary, Japan, Trinidad and Burma paid visits to India and had discussions with my Prime Minister on a variety of topics of mutual interest. The Foreign Minister of France and the Secretary of State of the United States also visited India and had discussion with my Prime Minister.

Indo-Pakistan relations have shown no signs of improvement. We have repeated our offer to the Pakistan Government to sign a "No War" Agreement. The Pakistan Government requested the Security Council recently to debate the Kashmir issue again although they had not in any way implemented or honoured the agreements which they made with us and the United Nations in regard to withdrawal of forces, etc., or stopped aggressive activities across the cease-fire line or aiding subversion inside Kashmir. The Security Council has, however, deferred its consideration of the Pakistan request.

As Parliament is aware, after 14 years of patient negotiations and waiting and giving an opportunity for the friends of Portugal to resolve the problem of the Portuguese colonialism on our mainland, the Government of India, in the interests of peace, the unity of India and on account of the irresistible volume of public opinion in our country, had to take action to bring an end to Portuguese colonialism on the mainland. This issue was precipitated by acts of flagrant aggression by Portugal including firing upon our merchant shipping, the killing of our nationals and intrusion into our territory. While there has been ill-informed criticism from some countries, the rest of the world has applauded this action and indeed the populations of all countries appear to welcome the end of Portuguese colonialism in at least a part of the world.

I am very happy, as you Members of Parliament are, that the operation in regard to Goa was practically bloodless, and certainly entirely so in regard to civilian population including our compatriots and all others. Goa is administered by a Military Governor under civil law and legislation will be introduced in the present Parliament to regularise the position of these territories as integral part of the Union of India. We have however repeatedly assured the peoples in Goa and the world that the personality that this area has acquired as a result of history would be respected, within the limits of the fundamentals of our Constitution, and that any changes would be constructive and smooth. The people of the former Portuguese colony have the protection of the fundamental rights and the basic principles of our Constitution. My Government propose to submit a bill to Parliament in this session on this matter.

My Government have agreed to help finance the first Five Year Plan for economic and social development in Bhutan to the tune of Rs.17 crores. Communications in this area are receiving priority consideration by the Bhutanese Government itself and under the Border Roads Development programme. It is hoped that during this year it will be possible to establish motor traffic in Bhutan. My Government are happy that the initiative for all

these developments has been taken by the Bhutanese Government, in which my Government are cooperating.

A statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India for the financial year 1962-63 will be laid before you for the purpose of passing votes on account authorising expenditure for a part of that year.

As this session of Parliament will be a very brief one, only essential legislation will be taken up during this session. Some Ordinances which have been promulgated since the last session will be placed before Parliament.

General Elections are now complete. Members of Parliament, I would like to echo your sense of rejoicing that this vast democratic exercise has been peaceful, orderly and in accordance with our constitutional process. We have set an example to ourselves and indirectly assisted the confidence in the world in the institution and the processes of parliamentary government.

As a result of the elections my Government have received a significant vote of confidence in their internal and external policies and a renewed mandate to strive strenuously and with speed for the establishment of a democratic socialist society and for the extension of the democratic institutions and processes on the basis of universal suffrage to the remotest of our villages, making democracy a reality. The policies of national integration and world peace through non-alignment, peaceful approach to problem, lowering of tensions and negotiated settlements have also received the endorsement of the nation. This renewed assurance and confidence placed by the great majority of our people in my Government and the avowal of their support for policies, internal and external, that have been repeatedly endorsed by Parliament and widely discussed by the country prior to the election, reinforce these policies and place on my Government a nationally mandated obligation and added strength to implement these policies.

Members of Parliament, I now bid you farewell. I feel confident that those of you who do not return here as legislators, will pursue useful and constructive roles in various fields of national activity so essential for the advancement of our democracy and for the building of our socialist society and for the furtherance of peace in the world. Those of you who have received the mandate of the electorate to continue your legislative activity will join with others who will come here for the first time to continue the arduous but constructive and fruitful labours for nation-building.

In a short time a new Parliament will be inaugurated and as in years past, but with renewed vigour and galvanized strength, you and they can

strive for establishment and further implementation of the principles of our Constitution, namely:

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity;

And to promote among all the citizens;

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation. These have been fully placed by my Government before our nation during the vast and educative process of our election and in its full implications.

I wish you all success and good fortune wherever you may be.

Towards a Balanced Economy

IT GIVES me great pleasure to welcome you, Members of the Third Parliament of our Republic, to its inaugural session. Amongst you are a large number who have been Members of Parliament in the years past and who once again sought the suffrage of your respective electorates and received at their hands a renewal of confidence. There are others among you who, though not new to public life or perhaps even to legislatures, have been elected to Parliament for the first time.

I congratulate you all and welcome you to united endeavour in the service of our common motherland. Each one of you will find in your tenure as Members of Parliament, whether it be in the legislature itself or in your constituencies, vast and varied opportunities and compelling necessities, for sustained and constructive work in the service of our country. The task of nation-building for which Parliament has both the continuing and ultimate responsibility, calls for the full exercise of your capacities of deliberation, analysis, constructive criticism, vigilance and dedication.

About a month ago I addressed the last session of the Second Parliament and bade them farewell. I then surveyed briefly the progress that was being achieved in different fields of our national life and effort. The country has made progress in many fields even during the short period between that occasion and now when I have the privilege to welcome you.

Our planned economy is the basis of our material development and of the maintenance of a dynamic, social and economic equilibrium. The Third Five Year Plan is in the second year and has made a good start. It is envisaged as a large-scale effort to build up our national economy, to increase

productivity and employment and to ensure the development of society on the basis of justice, social, economic and political, as enjoined by our Constitution. The Plan must increasingly bring within its scope of implementation larger numbers of our people as participants in production with both skills and understanding of the national objective.

Pilot projects for the utilisation of rural manpower were initiated some time ago. This rural works programme is being expanded and now covers 200 development blocks. Pilot projects for the intensive development of village and small industries in selected rural areas are also being taken up, the ultimate aim being to bring about a diversified and balanced economy in all rural areas.

My Government have also taken steps for setting up an Institute of Applied Manpower Research in Delhi. A scheme for the establishment of unemployment relief and assistance as set out in the Third Five Year Plan has been drawn up. A Central Institute of Labour Research is to be set up at Bombay. A Substantial portion of the working force is also expected to be covered during the Third Plan period under the scheme of workers' education. This is meant to promote the appreciation of our national objectives, as well as the understanding of the basic principles and the acquisition of the knowledge and skills which would help workers to organise themselves.

Agricultural production is steadily moving up and the food situation in general is quite satisfactory. Industrial production maintains an upward trend despite power shortages in some areas.

In the field of atomic energy, the production of radio isotopes for use in agriculture, biology, industry and medicine has registered an increase. Radio cobalt produced at Trombay is now made available to hospitals in the country. Agreements of collaboration and development in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes were concluded last year with Hungary, Sweden and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Panchayati Raj which has caught the imagination of our people, it being so well in accord with our traditions and our way of thinking, is to be implemented in four more States, bringing the total number to twelve.

The work on a second refinery in the public sector at Barauni is in progress. It will process two million tons of crude oil per annum. The first one million ton unit is scheduled to be commissioned within the next twelve months.

It is proposed to have a chain of pipelines from Nunamati to Siliguri and from Calcutta to Delhi via Barauni. In the western part of the country pipelines will link the oilfields with the proposed refinery, and a product

pipeline will run from the refinery to Ahmedabad; also small gas lines from the oilfields to different power stations for transporting petroleum products in the east and crude oil, gas and finished products in the west. These pipelines are scheduled to be completed within the Third Five Year period. They will afford considerable relief to our railway transport system.

India has been elected a member of the Disarmament Committee of 18 Nations and also of the Committee for the implementation of the Resolution of the United Nations. No appreciable progress have yet been effected in the deliberations on disarmament at Geneva. The Conference is continuing its efforts, pending achievement of general and complete disarmament, to deal with specific issues such as cessation of nuclear test explosions, avoidance of surprise attacks thereby increasing confidence among nations, agreement on nuclear-free zones and a halt in the armament race. The Conference is also engaged on reaching agreement on the draft of a Disarmament Treaty. Its preamble is now under consideration. My Government will use their best and dedicated endeavour for speedy progress and the successful outcome of the Conference. In particular and as a matter of most immediate concern, along with other nations, our Delegation will help to initiate and support proposals for the cessation of nuclear tests.

An interim Budget for 1962-63 was presented in the last Parliament and votes on account authorising expenditure for a part of the year obtained. A Budget will be presented again to the new Parliament in this session, with such changes as may be considered necessary, and Parliament asked to approve funds for the whole year.

My Government proposes to introduce the following Bills:

1. Bills to implement some of the recommendations of the Law Commission.
2. The Constitution (Amendment) Bills.
3. The Atomic Energy Bill.
4. The Electricity Supply (Amendment) Bills.
5. The Patents Bill.
6. The Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bills.
7. The Industries (Development and Regulation) Amendment Bill.
8. The Port Trusts Bill.
9. The Oil & Natural Gas Commission (Amendment) Bill.
10. The Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill.
11. The Factories (Amendment) Bill.

12. The Payment of Wages (Amendment) Bill.
13. The Workmen's Compensation (Amendment) Bill.
14. The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill.
15. The Working Journalists (Amendment) Bill.
16. The Employees' Provident Fund (Amendment) Bill.
17. The Employees' State Insurance (Amendment) Bill.
18. The Wealth Tax (Amendment) Bill.
19. The Finance Bill (No. 2).

Members of Parliament this is the last occasion on which I shall address you as the President of the Republic. It has been a great joy and privilege for me to serve our motherland as the elected head of the people for over twelve years. I have had my share of parliamentary life and duties prior to acceptance of this high office and cherish the highest regard for and confident hopes in our parliamentary institutions and ways. I have no doubt that you will maintain the high traditions established by your predecessors.

It is also our good fortune that our Parliament enjoys the respect of our people and it has become rooted in our political sentiments. While it derived its basic norms and procedures from the British Parliament, it has developed its own dynamism and it continues to do so, establishing its own conventions and methods born in the context of our own experience and needs.

As I said in my last address, it is the objective and purpose of my Government to follow steadfastly firm policies and to implement effective measures to establish in our land a democratic and socialist society. Thus alone will national progress and increase in productivity be synonymous with social justice, and dynamic progress will be peaceful and our country will march with firmness and speed.

I now bid you farewell and leave you to your labours, confident that with your experience, your patriotic fervour and your sense of dedication to duty, the imperative call of the urgent tasks that await us will always and in full measure command your skill and dedication.

I wish you well. May all of you and our parliamentary institutions progress in strength and stability, inspire our people to more and more democratic endeavour and assist in the process of the growth of peace and international co-operation.

MESSAGES TO THE NATION

Impact of Planning on Nation's Prosperity

ON THE auspicious occasion of the seventh anniversary of our Republic, I feel happy to offer my greetings and good wishes to my countrymen. On this day it is customary to rejoice and look back in order to assess the achievements of the year that has passed and also to prepare ourselves for still greater tasks in the coming year in a spirit of dedication and cautious self-confidence. For a nation occupied with a programme of reconstruction covering all aspects of life, such an opportunity is of utmost importance. It helps us in measuring our capacity as against the jobs to be undertaken during the year that begins today.

We all know that our goal is the establishment of a Welfare State in this country. Let us see how far we have advanced on that path. Soon after we became masters of our destiny, we decided to follow the pattern of planned economy. In course of time we launched our First Five Year Plan which was fully implemented last year, yielding place to the Second Five Year Plan, the working of which is now in operation. The targets of production and progress fixed in the First Plan have been luckily achieved, in certain cases the results being an improvement on our targets. The achievements of this plan are now beginning to come to surface to that the people can see and feel for themselves that the country is moving forward. Some of the river valley projects, work on which has been going apace for years, have been completed partially. Mighty rivers like the Sutlej, the Damodar, the Mahanandi and the Tungabhadra, which have long been associated with devastating floods, have at last been dammed. Their waters rushing into the newly-laid canals are a symbol of hope for the people of the respective regions. The same can be said about the power generated from plants attached to these projects. Cheap electricity turning the wheels of industry and illuminating the dark countryside is in the eyes of the common folk the first tangible fruit of our nation-building programme. To the generality of people it is an indication of the potentialities of our planning.

It is, however, in the countryside, in India's out-of-the-way and far-flung villages that a silent, but real, revolution has been taking place. Our villages today are in a state of ferment. The National Extension Service and the Community Development programme have widened the mental horizon of our village folk who are lending full help and co-operation to the Administration in changing the face of rural India. As the nation-building work progresses, villagers are shedding old prejudices and learning to help themselves with new implements and fresh ideas. It is the prosperity of this section of the community which is our foremost hope, because among themselves the villagers account for about three-fourths of India's population even today.

In respect of industrialisation also we have made sufficient progress during the year. Two new major steel plants are being erected and a programme of increasing the all-round industrial output of the country is under way. Along with the establishment of heavy industries, we are also reviving and giving encouragement to small-scale industries. These latter industries are easier to set up, and manage and, what is far more important, they have great potentialities for providing employment to large numbers of people. The importance of this work cannot be exaggerated in view of the high incidence of unemployment in our country, particularly among the educated sections of the society. Putting out young men on to industries which, in order to produce more do not have to resort to labour-saving devices, is the best way of improving the prospects of employment in India. It is for this reason that the Government have been devoting special attention to the needs of small-scale industries and have made a much bigger provision for them in the Second Five-Year Plan than could be made in the First Plan.

One of the highlights of last year was the world-wide celebrations in connection with the 2500th anniversary on the *Mahaparinirvana* of Lord Buddha. India as the land of Buddhism, where the Lord lived and preached his gospel and from where the *bhikshus* went forth in all directions to spread the benign message of the Buddha, was naturally the centre of these celebrations. The various public meetings, exhibitions and seminars held throughout the country in this connection have given an impetus to Indian art and thought which had already started surging through the impact of the forces released by our freedom. It is gratifying to see that side by side with our march to economic prosperity, there are signs of a renaissance focussing attention on our great heritage in the domains of art and literature.

While we can claim that all that is possible for husbanding our material resources in order to increase the nation's wealth and for reviving our age-old traditions of art and learning is being done, we particularly feel happy

that the march of democracy continues unhindered in India. Beset though we were and still are with all manners of problems that a vast country determined to raise the standard of living of its teeming millions has to contend with, we held our first general elections five years ago. That witnessed the world's largest democracy going to the polls. We are now preparing for the next general elections in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution. The success with which we held the last elections and with which we hope to conduct the forthcoming elections, will do us credit, so that even our worst critics will agree that democracy is taking firm roots in India.

We feel happy that in the light of our principles and deep-rooted convictions we are able now and then to make our humble contribution to the maintenance of peace, amity and goodwill among nations. The doctrine of *Panchsheel*, based on non-aggression, non-interference and peaceful co-existence has found wider acceptance among nations of the world during the last year. It is, indeed, fortunate that the outbreak of hostilities of Egyptian soil, which came as a grave threat to world peace was localised and later brought to an end through the efforts of the United Nations and its peace-loving members.

In recent months we have had the privilege of receiving in this country, His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, the President of Syria, the Prime Minister of China and Their Holinesses the Dalai and Panchen Lamas.

Happy as we feel to see that the country is moving forward on the road to prosperity, we cannot afford to be complacent. The road leading to the valley of progress is necessarily zigzag with all the ups and downs associated with a difficult terrain. United by the bond of common objective and achievement we must strive hard till the goal is reached. In this great task of nation-building the co-operation of every citizen, high or low, will count at every step. Let us resolve on this memorable day to dedicate ourselves to this work of ushering in the desired era of welfare, happiness and prosperity in this country.

Let me once again send you, men and women of India, my greetings and all good wishes on this day of rejoicing.

Need for Unity

I AM ADDRESSING you today on the eve of the Independence Day. For some years past we have been observing two National Days in the year—the 26th of January we observe as the Republic Day because it was on

Speech on the eve of the Independence Day, Trivandrum, August 14, 1957

that day that our Constitution came into operation and the country became a Republic: the 15th of August we observe as Independence Day because it was on this Day when the power of governing the country was transferred from British to Indian hands. For the last four years I have decided that one of these days should be observed in the capital of the country, Delhi, and the other should be observed somewhere in these parts. I am happy that this year we are observing this day here in the capital city of your State.

This year's celebration has a significance of its own. It is not only a centenary celebration of a great revolt which convulsed the country in 1857 against the British, but it is also the tenth anniversary of the attainment of independence which was the culmination of the struggle which had gone on for more than a century against British rule, and here in Trivandrum you have added to the significance of the celebrations by arranging the presentation of a sword with which the great patriot, Velupillai Prabhakaran fought against the foreigners, and you have also asked me to unveil the memorial column to commemorate the sacrifices of those who served India in the country's cause. It is on account of these functions which have been added to the ordinary function which we have every year that today's celebration assumes particular significance and importance. I regard it as a great honour to be presented with the sword which once fought for India's freedom and I am thankful to the family of Shri K.R. Ravi Varma which had preserved it for nearly 150 years in their possession and kept it safe against all those who wished to appropriate it. I can assure him and I can assure you that it will be kept safe and secure as a memento of the great struggle in which the country had been engaged for more than a hundred years for attaining independence.

It is usual on an occasion like this to recall the great services and sacrifices of those who have fought for the freedom of the country and I cannot do better than ask you to join me in paying homage and respect and reverence to all those who have lived, suffered, and died for the country's cause. The memorial column which you have erected will serve in times to come as a great memento and as a great reminder to generations yet unborn of the heroic deeds and the great sacrifices undertaken and of the great services rendered by all those who had preceded them.

This is not my first visit to your city or to this beautiful State. I have been here on several occasions and on every occasion that I have come, I have seen something new and fresh to attract me more and more towards it. India, as you know, is a conglomeration of various kinds of culture, of language, of religion, of mode of living, and it has, running through all these apparent diversities, a unity which supersedes all and which has continued in spite of political disunity, in spite of all kinds of difficulties which have

been showered upon us by nature and by man. It is not surprising that we have such diversities in a big country like India. If you only remember that our population as it is today is almost equal to the population of the whole of Europe minus Russia, you can understand the significance of this diversity as well as of this unity. In Europe there are so many countries which are divided from one another and which have continued not only divided but to be at war with one another for centuries. In India, on the other hand, we have not had a 100-year war or a 30-year war or even a 7-year war! We fought between ourselves occasionally but these never proved to be as devastating as the wars of Europe; and in spite of political division, the cultural life of the people continued uninterrupted and without any kind of interference.

This great unity has been possible because our people have from time immemorial accepted the principle of live and let live, of mutual respect and tolerance, of what may be called co-existence in modern language. We have been able to survive all these centuries and today when we have added to this cultural unity also the political unity of the country as a whole, there is no reason why our country should not rise to the greatest heights in national prosperity and in service to humanity. We want our own prosperity, but not at the expense of the prosperity of others; we want our own rise but we do not want anyone to be done away with before we want to rise; we want to progress, but not by aggression; we want to be free and we want at the same time to ensure freedom to everyone else. That is the meaning of the principle of *ahimsa* on which our whole life and culture have been based and which have been the greatest contribution, if I may say so, to political thought, to religious thought, to moral thought of the world that any nation has made.

Today when we have various kinds of differences arising and when we sometimes miss the great fundamental unity and attach importance to the apparent diversity, it is well to remember that after all fundamental unity will last because in our very nature this non-violence is ingrained because our whole life, tradition and culture is based on that. From the time when differences of opinion were tabooed in other countries, we have tolerated differences of opinion and today when we have got a Constitution which allows freedom of speech, of expression, of thought and of religion to everybody, there is no reason why we should not have a people holding different opinions and subscribing to different ideologies, working together in co-operation with one another to the benefit of all. Our Constitution not only envisages this but it also provides for it and that is why we have secured unity of the country by insisting upon federation; we have also ensured autonomy of the States, and the fact that one party is ruling at the

Centre and another in the State has not made any difference to our relationship with one another and ought not to make any difference.

I hope I am correct when I say that you here need not feel that there is any such difference because of a new party ruling in the sphere of the State and another in the sphere of the whole country. You need not feel anything like that. I am hoping that this great experiment is going to serve as a great lesson not only to the other States of our own country but to the other countries as well. This example of co-existence, of living together in spite of differences, of working together despite difficulties, will be helpful to other countries as well. After all, what does the world aim at today? You talk of one world, some kind of international organisation which will govern the relationship of different countries in such a way as to avoid war and trouble. Have we not got on a small scale an example in actual working of that kind of thing in a country like India where with so many languages, so many religions, so many differences in the mode of living, we have been able to live together? I am only hoping that the day will come and not in the very distant future but soon, that may not be in my life time but certainly in the life time of the greater portion of the audience present here-when the world will say, "We are copying India because in the world as a whole we have got different languages, different religions, different races inhabiting different parts of it and yet all living together and all working together for the good of all. That is an ideal worth living for."

But it is necessary that we put our own house in order before aspiring to set each an example to the world. Despite our differences we must stand united and develop mutual understanding and tolerance. Then alone we can ask other countries to be like us and to be a One World.

That is the great future for which we are called upon to work and thus we will be true to ourselves and to the great ideal of *ahimsa*. We shall attain it, I have no doubt in my mind, and I wish you, the people of Kerala to make your contribution to the attainment of that great ideal. You can do it, you have made your own contribution for the making of this country in the past. You are doing that today and I have no doubt you will be ever ready to make your contribution to the creation of One World which we are all looking forward to and in which there will be no restraint, in which the atomic energy will not be used for the purpose of destroying one another but will be used for improving the life and culture of the people in all countries and at all times. That is a great ideal and I am sure you all in the country as a whole will make your own humble contribution which will be accepted by others.

With these words I desire to unveil this memorial column and I once more thank everyone for the great privilege which has been given to me. I again give the assurance that this sword will be preserved for all time to come.

Implement Plan with Redoubled Effort

ON THIS DAY, the Eighth Anniversary of our Republic, I send my greetings to all my countrymen. Today we have completed eight years of our existence as a Sovereign Republic and are entering the ninth year with renewed hope and enthusiasm. A day of national rejoicing as it is, everyone of us should observe it in a spirit of happiness and good cheer. At the same time it is a day of dedication when every Indian citizen should take the pledge of service of the nation and renew his resolve to contribute his or her mite to the building up of the India of our dreams. It is on such occasions when the passing out and the incoming years meet that one is apt to review the happenings of the year which is ending and welcome in a spirit of hope and preparedness the year which is to begin. These two processes are in a way inter-dependent and indissolubly linked with each other.

As all of you know, the principal feature of our life these ten years has been a collective endeavour on a nation-wide scale to reconstruct our economy, to improve our social conditions and to enrich our cultural life. Though for better living progress in all these directions is essential, it is economic development which has claimed first priority. Eradication of poverty, the spread of education so that ignorance and illiteracy are liquidated and the provision of minimum civic amenities and domestic comforts—all these call for material resources without which the urge to progress may get blunted and popular enthusiasm chilled. Therefore, those responsible for shaping our policies have given due place to the development of the nation's material resources in our programmes. For the achievement of this object and in order to raise the level of India's prosperity we have resorted to modern planning. The successful implementation of the First Five Year Plan and the results achieved therefrom have been a source of encouragement to us. Nearly in all spheres we were not only able to reach the targets but in some cases actual production even exceeded them. With re-doubled confidence and vigour we launched the Second Five Year Plan last year. As is perhaps inherent in the phase of development through which we are now passing, we have come up against difficulties here and there. These difficulties,

far from discouraging us should be, and actually have been, a force providing us to still greater effort. I am glad to say that in face of the difficulty caused by the gap in the required outlay and the available resources the whole nation has responded to the Government's call to co-operate with official measures. We are determined to find a way out, and God willing, we shall succeed in implementing the Plan.

Let me also refer on this occasion to scarcity conditions prevailing in certain areas affected by drought and subsequent failure of crops. Though we know that in our agriculture chance plays a big part and that natural calamities which can affect adversely the outcome of the cultivator's efforts are not always unexpected, yet I am not inclined to gloss over the grave food situation in the country. The very idea of having to import large quantities of foodgrains from foreign countries piques us and gives a setback to our planning as a whole, besides putting a terrible strain on our foreign exchange resources. Self-sufficiency in food is our basic requirement without achieving which our projects in other spheres can hardly carry conviction with the common man. It is a task to which every Indian must address himself. Those employed in agriculture must do their utmost to get the maximum yield from land. I believe that agricultural production can be greatly enhanced if we diligently and intelligently apply ourselves to it, because our land is fertile and steps are being taken to provide facilities for irrigation, improved seeds and manures. If our farmers make proper use of these facilities and use their inherited experience and intelligence, the shortage of food can easily be removed. Those who follow other avocations have to observe austerity in the use of foodgrains changing their food habits, where necessary, so that the needs of the various regions in India can be met and properly adjusted. Our target should be to build up sufficient reserves of foodgrains so that we can meet all situations and in case of failure of crops for one reason or another we may be able to do without importing grains from other countries.

In the face of difficulties and hardships we have been able to make progress in other notable spheres. It is indeed gratifying that we were able to hold the second general elections, sending again the world's largest electorate to the polls. The manner in which these elections were held and the way in which administrative machinery at the Centre and in the States has been functioning in the country, should gladden the hearts of all those interested in the progress of democracy in the world. Whatever one might think of India as a whole or of any of our problems, the one thing which is beyond the pale of doubt is the fact that we are pledged to follow the democratic way of life and nothing can deflect us from our resolve to

follow this path we have chosen for ourselves. We are determined to give effect to our decision to reconstruct our society and that in a way not incompatible with the liberty and dignity of the individual. The good of the community as a whole is no doubt a supreme consideration, but the individual forming an integral part of the community is guaranteed certain fundamental rights upheld by our Constitution and sanctified by our age-old traditions.

I want to appeal to my fellow-countrymen to keep abreast of the developments in the world and the great need of their adjusting themselves to them. The world today is witnessing great events in the realm of science and other spheres of knowledge.

Vast vistas are opening up and knowledge and resources are being placed in the hands of man which can add infinitely to his material prosperity all the world over, if only he knows how to utilise them in the proper way for the benefit of all and not of any limited sections of humanity. Herein comes the necessity of understanding and accepting those moral and spiritual values which alone can conquer distrust, selfishness and fear and let in an era of peace.

No one who fails to respond to these developments with an open mind and in a scientific spirit can hope to play his part for the good of society at large and to his own advantage. Let us, therefore, pause and, coming out of old ruts and grooves, think of the great development that are taking place in the wider world. These developments will inevitably result in bringing the various countries together, and broadening human outlook on pain of total extinction in case of mal-adjustment with the latest scientific discoveries. We hope, and to the best of our capacity we are also striving, for the establishment of peace in the world so that all of these achievements could be used to humanity's advantage towards constructive ends. In fact this desire on our part has been the main feature of our foreign policy. We stand for peace and non-aggression—objects which we believe can be achieved through the principle of co-existence.

Once again I wish you all the best of luck and pray that the coming year may bring you greater happiness and prosperity and that each one of you may be able to contribute more to the well being of India as a whole.

Matching Thoughts with Deeds

IT IS AFTER four years that I have come here again to participate in the Independence Day celebrations, though I have been here in between for inaugurating the bigger Mysore State consequent upon Government's decision on the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. The decision that the President should take the Salute at the Independence Day Parade in South India was implemented first of all in the beautiful city of Bangalore in 1954. Having completed the first round of the capitals of the four South Indian States, I feel happy to begin the second round from this city again. On this happy occasion I offer you all my greetings and best wishes for a happy and prosperous year which begins today.

I would like to compliment the various units of the, Armed Forces, the Army including the Boys' Battalion, the Indian Air Force, the Police, the N.C.C. boys and girls, contingents of Scouts and the Bharat Sevak Samaj who participated in today's parade on their smartness and all-round good turn-out. I offer them all my congratulations and wish them good luck.

It is exactly 11 years today that after a long period of foreign domination India emerged as an independent country. While we waged our non-violent struggle for freedom, we set before us certain ideals, certain objectives to which we pledged our loyalty and for the fulfilment of which we resolved to use the opportunities that freedom was expected to bring in its wake. When the time to draw up our Constitution came, we tried to embody those ideals in it, putting them in precise and well defined terms in its Directives Chapter so that the world and our own people may know what we stand for and our future generations may continue to be guided by the loftiness of those ideals.

We decided that for developing our country and ministering to the needs of our people as best as possible, we should stick to the democratic pattern of life and adopt the parliamentary system of government as best suited to our present day conditions. Undoubtedly the course we have chosen to follow is neither easy nor so smooth. Difficulties and temporary setbacks are inherent in the very situation. There may be occasions when adjustment between the ideal and the actual, the thought and the deed appears to be an uphill task. Nay, let us admit that such an undertaking is in the very nature of things difficult. We should not for that reason start trimming our ideals so that our actions may fit into them, rather we should continue to try again and again to improve our actions so that they reach up to our ideals. There

*Speech after taking salute on Independence Day, Bangalore, August 15, 1958

can be no doubt at all that it is only this latter course which is in keeping with not only the aim that we have set before ourselves but also the great traditions of this country. We should rather be content with earnest efforts even if we must move forward through trial and error than compromise with ideals by taking the line of least resistance.

India may well claim to be the world's biggest democratic nation. We are pledged to the democratic way of living and to run our administration on democratic lines in preference to all other ways. We have decided to do so for no mere sentimental reasons. We firmly believe in the equality of opportunity for all, in the freedom of conscience and faith for every citizen and in postulating an inviolable guarantee of certain fundamental rights for every Indian citizen. We believe in the maxim that all are equal before law and all, big or small high or low, rich or poor, can be sure of social justice whatever walk of life they may belong to. It is these convictions which have gone to form the basis of our faith in democracy, and we have adopted this ideal as a result of the dictates of our conscience which, we feel sure, are entirely in keeping with the practical needs not only of this country but of the whole world.

I can say that our faith in a policy of live and let live, which in the language of diplomacy has come to be known as the theory of peaceful co-existence, springs essentially from this conviction. To the best of our lights and our capacity we have tried and would continue to try to follow this ideal in our internal administration as also in our foreign policy. Neither criticism, uncharitable or otherwise, nor our own weaknesses, should deflect us from this chosen path.

Having chosen that path with full deliberation and with the willing support of the people, I would like to pose the question how far have we succeeded in carrying out our intentions into effect and how far have our actions conformed to our cherished thoughts? I would earnestly appeal to each one of my countrymen to put this question to himself or herself and seek an answer from within. Let everyone examine his own thoughts and see for himself how far he has succeeded in imbibing the ideal in question.

I have said all this because I feel the necessity of our people pondering now and then over these basic issues. When one feels clouded or confused for any reason, it is only one's faith in a high ideal that helps one steer clear of doubt or mental conflicts. Fostering this faith in democratic principles, which are essentially based on non-violence, is in my opinion our foremost need. Let me hope every thinking man and woman in this country will give thought to it and try to inculcate in himself or herself the discipline of democracy.

The thought that we are steadily, though slowly, forging ahead with our many-sided development programme, is indeed encouraging. For making every citizen happy and bestow on him a degree of freedom from want, a nation has, of necessity, to traverse a long way. Our country can be no exception to this rule. Whatever the difficulties and whatever our shortcomings, let us not be downhearted but year after year move forward adding to the nation's material wealth and improving the economic and social conditions of the masses to the best of our ability and resources. Let us never forget the fact that mere material improvement, however great and impressive, cannot take us to the ideal. No nation devoid of faith in high moral principles can really rise high and attainment of these principles should coincide with, if not precede, material prosperity to make it really great. Let this faith fortify us against any counsel of despair and let our ideals continue to inspire us with confidence in ourselves and in the future of the human race, faith in the destiny of this country and in the well-being of mankind.

Once again I wish you all and through you the rest of our countrymen good luck and happiness.

Stresses of Planned Economy

I TAKE THIS opportunity once again to talk to my countrymen, to greet them and offer them my best wishes on the eve of our Republic Day. It is the ninth Republic Day that we are celebrating and it is well to remember that our Republic is still young, but it is growing at a pace which fills our hearts with pride and gives not only to us but to our friends outside as well, a sense of satisfaction.

In these recent years we have seen the spectacle of a gigantic effort to mobilise the whole nation to develop its resources and to reconstruct its economic life. Despite handicaps and numerous difficulties, which planning in such a vast country as India of necessity involves, we have gone on and intend to go on from plan to plan till we have made sure that every citizen of the Indian Republic can have a reasonable standard of living and enjoys a measure of social security. On the progress that we have made in this direction so far, we have been the recipients of compliments from many a foreign visitor and impartial critic. While this naturally makes us happy, we are only too conscious of the difficulties we have to contend against and the shortcomings we have to get over. Whenever, therefore, we allow our minds to wander and bring the affairs of the State within the purview of

thought, both the sides of the picture emerge to view. Let us see how the situation stands.

During the year that is ending today I have had occasion to visit a few foreign countries. It pleases me a great deal to see that India is held in high esteem by the peoples and leaders of those countries. There is admiration for the manner in which we have conducted ourselves since the dawn of freedom. There may be several factors like our ancient heritage and our tremendous efforts in tackling the problems of economic reconstruction and industrialisation that have helped others to formulate their views about India, but I have no doubt in my mind that the biggest single factor that has been responsible for eliciting this appreciation abroad is our foreign policy. By many India is looked upon as a bulwark of peace and as a nation which stands for the progress and freedom of all nations, which recognises diversity in the pattern of ideologies and administrations and which at the same time believes that given mutual goodwill and tolerance, all these diverse patterns can co-exist. The fact that we are trying to solve our problems by well-recognised democratic methods adds to that appreciation.

I feel happy to say that this policy has won us friends and well wishers in foreign lands. But at the same time it casts a heavy responsibility on all Indians at home and on those of our nationals living in foreign lands. We must see that in our thinking and our day-to-day behaviour we refrain from doing anything which may not conform to this policy of tolerance and co-existence. A nation's ideology and policies are often judged from the behaviour of its nationals.

Coming to things nearer home, it is well known and easily understandable that planned economy imposes great stresses and strains on the people. A nation in this respect is not different from a family unit. In order to plan a better future and to build up a happier life, both have to make sacrifices, undergo some strain and possibly some suffering. It may well mean dislocations and deprivations, but the idea of ultimate achievement sustains them, helping them to endure those sufferings willingly. If, therefore, our planning has imposed any such hardships on certain sections of our people, it is expected that in the larger interest of the nation and a brighter and happier future, these will be faced without demur.

What is of utmost importance is the spirit of sacrifice, the willingness to give voluntarily in the present in order to have more in the future through our own efforts. It would be wrong to imagine that austerity as a virtue belonged only to the past or that the spirit of sacrifice is not needed to build up a free nation. If anything, there is greater need for

this spirit today than it was before when we were engaged in the struggle for freedom. It is my earnest request to all my countrymen, to all my brothers and sisters wherever they live, whether in towns or in the countryside, to ponder over the situation and ask themselves whether they have made or are willing to make their share of the sacrifice for the building of the India of our dreams.

The problem of food is a basic problem for all and specially for us. With our great traditions of agriculture going back to centuries and the capacity for work and shrewdness and intelligence of our people it is really a matter of shame and humiliation that we should have to look to other countries for food and spend hundreds of crores of rupees on importing it. Let every agriculturist realise that in increasing production and enhancing the yield per acre of land he is not only doing a great national service but also improving his own standard and thus combining and identifying national interest with his own. Once this realisation comes it should not be difficult by intensive cultivation and the use of improved methods to raise the yield twofold and solve this difficult problem and become free from the everpresent ghost of hunger.

Brothers and sisters, I would ask you to pause and think of the great opportunity that has come your way and the responsibility that has devolved upon you. The task of raising a new edifice has been entrusted by Fate to you, for you are the builders of a new India. Can any sacrifice be too great to see that you have done your duty and helped your nation, that has tasted the fruit of freedom after a long spell of foreign domination, to reach its destiny?

In the midst of national rejoicings, I have perhaps struck a different note, but truly speaking, the two are not at variance with each other. Rejoicings which flow from a sense of responsibility are truly rich and abiding. I wish you all the best of luck and prosperity in the coming year.

Message of Hope and Progress

LET ME GREET my countrymen on the eve of the 10th Republic Day and wish them good luck and happiness in the coming year. Every year we exchange greetings on this happy occasion and felicitate one another and also look around to see the state of the nation, its growing economy and its fast-developing resources. We have weighed these developments against our long-term plans and our cherished dreams to turn

an under-developed nation of teeming millions into a prosperous State in which every citizen, assured of life's essential needs, leads a reasonably happy life. The whole machinery of the State, nay, the entire resources of the nation, are being mobilised to give shape to this ideal.

Since we became free and took charge of the affairs of State we have remained mainly occupied with setting our house in order, that is to say, with dealing mostly with our internal problems, though, as is well known, we have throughout been following a foreign policy which we have thought to be the best for India. Respecting other nations' independence, cherishing friendly feelings for all peoples, firm belief in every country's freedom to live in the manner considered best by it, to abjure violence and aggression and to work for the maintenance of world peace – these are some of the important elements in our foreign policy. This policy which came to be known as that of peaceful co-existence has been subscribed to by good many other nations of the world.

Something has happened which threatens to strain our belief in these principles. One of our neighbours with whom our relations have throughout been friendly and who has been with us in propounding the theory of *Panchsheel*, has thought it fit to encroach on our frontiers and occupy fringes on the border areas falling within Indian territory. In the face of provocation and the rising popular resentment we have continued to rely on negotiation and settle whatever dispute there be in a peaceful and friendly manner. Our anxiety, however, to remain friendly and avoid resort to force has not so far evoked the desired appreciation from the other side. While hoping for the best, we have to be vigilant and united. Though our faith in peace and peaceful co-existence remains unshaken as ever we cannot afford to ignore the fact that eternal vigilance is the price a nation pays for its freedom.

Side by side with meeting the requirements of defence necessitated by recent events, we are determined to spare no effort in implementing our big nation-building projects. Some of these projects have already been completed or are nearing completion. Work on others is proceeding according to schedule. During this year we had the Ganga Bridge opened to traffic, linking North Bihar and Assam with South Bihar and West Bengal. Encouraged by this remarkable feat of engineering we now propose to span the mighty Brahmaputra near Gauhati, and our Prime Minister has laid the foundation of the new bridge only this month. Work on Bhakra, Nagarjunasagar, Chambal, Neyveli and Kundah hydroelectric projects continues to progress. The three major steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur have begun functioning in part this year. These are expected to supply more than our present requirements of steel.

At one time during the year the food situation threatened to worsen, but the price level was soon brought down as a result of efforts to ease the supply situation and opening of foodgrain shops throughout the country. The situation since then has shown signs of improvement and there is reason to believe that this trend will receive further support from the present reassuring crop position and foreign imports to build up adequate reserves.

Brothers and sisters, I want you all to give a little thought to these momentous questions confronting our country. I need hardly tell you that they are receiving the best consideration at the hands of the leaders to whose care you have entrusted the affairs of the country, but in a democracy national questions are the concern of every citizen and everyone must apply himself or herself to them.

Once again I wish you all the best of luck and have pleasure in greeting you on this day.

Warning Against Internal Friction

I FEEL VERY happy to be in Madras this year to participate in the Independence Day celebrations and to take the salute at the parade held in connection with these celebrations. It is the second occasion for me to have been thus honoured by the people of this State and Madras city. The practice of the Independence Day being celebrated every year in the South by the President of India, I am glad to say, is now well established.

This day marks the anniversary of the victorious end of our struggle for freedom and is a very important landmark in the unfolding history of free India. Naturally it is as much a day of national rejoicings, when hopes and aspirations fill the hearts of all our people, young and old, men and women as of dedication. We feel happy that the process of emancipation, which began in Asia and Africa after the last war, began with the emergence of our country as an independent nation thirteen years ago. Though this is a small period in a country's history, we feel happy that during these years India has come to occupy in the comity of nations a place in keeping with her size and population and not in commensurate with her past as an ancient country with a glorious heritage. We can say in all modesty that our views receive consideration and are given due weight in the counsels of the world. We have made non-alignment with power blocs as a corner-stone in the edifice of our foreign relations. That has enabled us not only to keep ourselves free from unwanted entanglement but also to judge things for

ourselves. It has also enabled others to judge us on merit. We have, therefore, every reason to claim all as friends and we entertain no ill-will towards any other Country or nation. And despite an unfortunate, uncalled for and unjust assault on our frontier, we have not lost our balance and plunged headlong into the conflict, and have contended ourselves with pursuing the peaceful path of discussion and negotiation. Let us hope that the discussions will result in a satisfactory solution. At the same time we cannot afford to be complacent and have to be prepared for all contingencies.

We feel gratified to see the ever-increasing tempo of nation-building activity at home which, all agree, is fast changing the face of our country, particularly the shape of things in rural India. Our industrial and agricultural output is going up year by year fulfilling the targets set in our Five Year Plans for the development of our national resources. The foundations are being laid and we can look forward with hope and confidence to progressive realisation of the aims and objectives of our plans.

I do not, however, propose to dwell on this aspect of our reconstruction activity, howsoever pleasant and gratifying it may be. I would rather assign myself the unpleasant task of referring today to certain unfortunate trends in India which have occasioned second thoughts in the minds of many patriotic Indians regarding the future happiness and prosperity of our country. These trends, unless they are checked betimes, have the potentiality of setting at naught the great strides that we have been lately making in the field of industry and other nation-building spheres. It should, therefore, be the foremost duty of every well-wisher of our country to stop the march of these fissiparous forces so that the freedom that we have attained after centuries of foreign domination and the opportunities that have come our way to reorientate our economy and social structure are not frittered away.

Let me, therefore, stress today the need of strengthening the forces of unity in the country by eliminating all causes of friction through goodwill, understanding and mutual accommodation. We have witnessed in the recent past certain unfortunate happenings, the very reference to which makes me sad beyond words. Whatever their background or the pre-disposing causes or the immediate provocation, there can be no excuse for letting tension and ill-will get the better of our reason and judgment and our feeling of nationalism. Such happenings inevitably create an atmosphere not only of ill-will among various sections of the Indian society but tend to encourage feelings of exclusiveness and bitterness which threaten the very unit of the country. Whether it is the question of religion or of language or of any other aspect of our life or activity, resort to violence is indefensible. Let us understand that it is

also profitless. I would appeal to all my countrymen to have a broad vision and not to lose the sense of perspective. Given the right perspective and mutual forbearance, I am quite sure such ugly situations as we have had the misfortune of witnessing in certain parts of India, would never recur. The existing tension and risks at our frontiers ought to strengthen our will to unity within.

I know it is not usual to speak in this tone on the Independence Day. If I have done so it should be taken as a measure of our earnestness to set things right and my personal keenness that the trends I have referred to are checked before it is too late.

It has been a pleasure to watch this parade in which contingents of our Armed Forces, the Madras Police, the National Cadet Corps, and others have participated. I congratulate them on their smart turnout and thank all those gathered here for their co-operation and active participation in this morning's function.

Building a Better India

TOMORROW, THE INDIAN REPUBLIC enters into its twelfth year, and as I greet my countrymen on the eve of the great National Day, I am filled with joy and hope. Ours is a very young Republic but we are an ancient people whose history goes back to thousands of years. Establishment of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India in 1950 is undoubtedly a great landmark in the history of this great land bound by the Himalayas in the North and the East and the wide seas in the South and the West.

These eleven years form but an infinitesimal part of the history of India but they are for us today of the utmost importance. For, it is a period in our history when we are busy laying the foundations—sound and secure—of a Democratic State of Socialist pattern, whose guiding principles are human dignity and freedom and in which poverty and ignorance are outlawed. Our concept of a Welfare State is one in which every citizen, without any distinction or discrimination, has a chance of honourable existence and of full growth.

It is to that end that all our planning is directed. The work that we are doing today and what we have done since independence, is going to determine our future. Therefore, we must marshal all our resources, spiritual and material. And this we cannot effectively do unless there is the silken thread

of fellowship unifying and strengthening all our national endeavours. If we pride ourselves on the fact that we had attained a high degree of culture at a time when a large part of the world was passing through the Stone Age, we should also ask ourselves why we are, where we are today, while many of the erstwhile backward nations have laboured hard and gone ahead. Is it wise to be oblivious of the lessons of history? The darkest spots in our history have been those when our people lost a sense of proportion and attached undue importance to things that were secondary, in fact, petty and ignored the demands of the country. Let us not forget the lesson which our history teaches us and let us make sure, that the causes which brought about our downfall do not operate in our national life today or ever again in future.

This year the Nation embarks on the Third Five Year Plan. We have, of course, achieved much in the last 12 years, but we have yet to go a long way before we can claim that we have given economic content to our freedom.

We, in India, are faced with many internal and external stresses and strains. We should take them as a challenge to our national will for survival and every year on this auspicious day, we should rededicate ourselves to the cause of the common man and to India's age-old mission of furthering the cause of peace, goodwill and friendship among nations.

The world—especially Asia and Africa—is changing with a somewhat baffling speed necessitating constant vigilance and adjustment. If life is a challenge and an adventure, living in an atomic age with all its perils and potentialities is a greater adventure. If man must survive the self-created dangers, he will have to make a departure from his old stand. A fresh sense of man's mission in this universe, a reassessment of values and a reaffirmation of faith in the '*vishwatma*'—the world spirit are the needs of the present time. Old patterns of thought and behaviour, individual, national and international call for revision and reconsideration. May be, they have to give place to new patterns in keeping with the spirit and temper of the new age of space travel.

Our task is great but so also can our national will be mighty. All we have to do is to inspire a sense of belonging, a sense of comradeship in our people. For, are we not engaged in the glorious adventure of building a better India of tomorrow—an India, which will count as a force for peace, progress, freedom and happiness for all mankind? A fresh dedication to the service of the country, an all India vision and a general social awareness are the imperative needs of today. Let us draw inspiration from our past achievements but let us also guard against old

mistakes. And let us apply ourselves, heart and soul, to the task which awaits us. Let everyone feel that his personal contribution is as important as the collective effort for our national regeneration. And so, I should like to offer my greetings and sincere good wishes to my countrymen for a better and happier life.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

Indo-Japan Relations

I USE NO language of convention when I say that I feel highly honoured to be decorated with a degree of your great University. When I think of the traditions of your University and the way it has been carrying on its work of delving deep into the learned lore of Buddhism, I am reminded of the great University of Nalanda in my country which for a thousand years or so kept the torch of learning bright and received students and seekers after truth from distant lands and sent out its own students and teachers to study and propagate the great teachings of the Buddha. Your University seems to have taken its birth some centuries after Nalanda ceased to be the seat of light and learning that it was. But you can claim to be carrying on the tradition of Buddhistic studies, refining and reforming its tenets and collecting together all that is available about Buddhism not only in Japan but in China and Tibet and other distant lands.

As has been so felicitously and graciously expressed by His Imperial Majesty, the old relationship of more than a thousand years between our two countries has been through Buddhist literature and Buddhist faith.

It is one of the apparently inexplicable and inscrutable events of history that in India at present there is nothing like Buddhist Church or a formal organisation of the Buddhist faith to which any appreciable number of the hundreds of millions of Indians owe formal and ceremonial allegiance. As far as I know, there is no record of any persecution or violence against Buddhism, and Buddhism as a formal religion has not been eliminated or expelled from India but has undergone a change in theory and practice and has been accepted and assimilated in its essence and still prevails uninterrupted. It is not necessary to remind the scholars of the University that Buddhist philosophy is an offshoot and a branch of the Indian or Hindu philosophy which had already reached a high degree of attainment even before the advent of the great Buddha on this earth.

Like all other philosophies and faiths the Hinduism of those days had developed in its practical application many customs and rites which did not appeal to the fine and noble sensibility of the Buddha, and having not only

*Speech at the University of Ohtani (Japan), September 29, 1958

studied the philosophy but also practised the prescribed and prevalent austerities, the Buddha rejected much of the formal and ceremonial part of the then prevailing religion and accepted, adopted and expanded the core and essential principles of that philosophy. It was, therefore, not surprising that even in his own life-time he was able to attract large numbers, masses and classes, peasants and princes alike, to his way of thinking and living. Soon after his death, his doctrines spread all over the country. In the course of centuries they covered southern, southwestern, northern, northwestern, central and eastern portions of the great continent of Asia. In India itself, its fundamentals became a part and parcel of the Hindu way of life and became absorbed in it, influencing the beliefs and activities of the people even today.

It has been one of the peculiar characteristics of Indian thought and practice to give full and unstinted freedom of thought and as a consequence to recognise diversities of opinion and practice, and ultimately to find an all embracing synthesis to bring together all the divergent elements of thought and theory. Not only do the "Upanishads" proclaim the freedom of mind that man enjoyed in those days, the growth of Buddhism itself was a demonstration of this basic factor in our mental structure. This process has gone on uninterrupted. The growth of different schools in Buddhism itself, the "Mahayana" and the "Hinayana", with their numerous branches, indicates the same line of growth and acceptance by the Buddhists all over the world of the fundamental freedom of the human mind.

The way the Hindus of old gave recognition to these theoretical and theological differences was to place their founders and prominent propagators in the categories of "Rishis" (Seers) and "Acharyas" (Teachers), and those who changed not only the line of their thought but also the course of their action and the way of life were dignified and proclaimed as "Avataras". Buddha is regarded by even the orthodox Hindus of today as an "Avatar", and his name is repeated in many of the shlokas recited at prayer time. The Hindu chronology has divided the age of the Universe since creation into different parts under distinctive names and the present age is regarded as the period of Buddha's incarnation or Buddhavatar in "Kaliyug". It is a practice with orthodox Hindus to repeat this description of the age at the beginning of every auspicious deed including their daily prayers. You will thus see that Hinduism has not discarded the Buddha or the fundamental and basic truth of Buddhism, but recognised its existence in every-day life. The process of free-thinking has gone on uninterrupted for as long as there is any record available whether written or spoken. Each new school of thought, that has arisen, has developed its branches and no wonder that

Buddhism itself has maintained this process of growth as witnessed by the development of its doctrines with their numerous branches which have arisen, grown and prospered as centuries have flown by. Even within our own times, within the last hundred years or so, we have seen amongst Hindus the birth and growth of what are known as the “Brahma Samaj”, and “Arya Samaj” or Vedic Dharma, and last but not the least, the current thought set in motion by Mahatma Gandhi.

It is well to remember that throughout the centuries, through all the vicissitudes of time and political and social revolutions, this thought-current has remained uninterrupted and has been like the mighty “Ganga” having its source in the unknown and perhaps unknowable purity, whiteness and light of the mighty and celestial Himalayas and flowing in all directions, distributing its sacred and life-giving waters to all who care to drink of it.

It is, therefore, a matter of just pride for me to be honoured by you who are in the line of ancient universities and seats of learning, and maintain and carry on the traditions of devotion to learning and assiduous research. I also feel elated when I think that you have kept up the study of Sanskrit and other Buddhistic literature in the languages of India and other countries like China and Tibet. I believe there is in India a large body of works in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, which have not yet been studied and explored by modern scholars and remain embodied in manuscripts scattered in different and distant parts of the country in spite of the havoc which time and history have wrought. I understand that there are many works of great value and merit not only as contributions to philosophical thought and theory, but also as store-houses of historical facts and events which have been lost or destroyed in India but are still extant and available in the languages of other countries like China and Tibet. I should not be surprised if there are such works in Japanese language also. There is thus a vast field for collaboration of scholars in my country and yours, and a University like yours offers the forum and the medium for the exchange not only of thought and researches, but also of scholars who devote themselves to such study.

In India we have since the attainment of Independence established a new Institute at the site of the old Nalanda for the study of Buddhistic literature which is already attracting students from abroad, and let me hope that in course of time it will become another great link joining cultural centres and through them promote further growth of friendship and collaboration in other fields of life.

I again thank you for the honour you have conferred upon me, and can only hope that I shall have deserved it.

Mahatma's Teachings and World Problems

I AM THANKFUL for the warm reception you have given me. More than the reception I value this opportunity of having met all of you living in Japan. Let me hope you will ever keep India in mind. I wish you all good luck.

I am at a loss to find words to give adequate expression to my feelings of gratefulness for the very kind and cordial welcome which has been accorded to me ever since I set foot on your beautiful country. I am naturally happy but may I say that I am not surprised, knowing as I do, that the relations between our two countries are not of a recent date but are sanctified by tradition of centuries. I am conscious that this love and kindness which has been showered upon me is not for an individual, but for the country to which I have the honour to belong. The cultural ties between our two countries are at least 1300 to 1400 years old, and in modern times we have established other relationships which I am sure are of mutual benefit economically and politically.

Personally I attach infinitely greater value to the cultural ties because they are born of mutual goodwill, understanding and friendship. They are also more lasting because they touch the inner chords in the heart of the common man in both countries. India and Japan are separated by wide seas, but in the past our mutual regard for each other manifested itself whenever historical events provided the inspiration. And in recent times we have strengthened these ties by those of an economic and political character which both countries have accepted in their mutual interest.

In our country this day is regarded as an auspicious day because it happens to be the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. We started celebrating it as a day of national importance during his lifetime but he characteristically discouraged us from regarding it as his birthday and gave it the name of Charkha Jayanti or the day of the celebration of the birth of the spinning wheel. You will be surprised to know why he should have given such importance to a spinning wheel. His whole life philosophy had as its motto truth and non-violence, *satya* and *ahimsa*, and flowing from these two basic principles he worked out in a practical way a line of thought and programme of action which enabled us to win our freedom against a most powerful nation. When he started his work, there was discontent in the country against

foreign rule. The British did some good things for the country but good Government can never be a substitute for self-government. And so the struggle against foreign rule continued. Methods of constitutional agitation were tried, so were those of violent revolution. But both were found wanting. At this stage came Mahatma Gandhi. He rejected both these methods and substituted for them the method of non-violent revolution. The whole plan was non-violent because it abjured violence in every form. The pledge which every volunteer who wished to join the movement seriously was required to sign insisted upon non-violence not only in word and action but also in thought and it was revolutionary because it aimed at not only changing the rulers but also changing the whole life of the nation; changing by removing from it the accretions and abuses which had crept into our life and society during centuries and giving them fresh outlook. It was also revolutionary because it did not accept wholly or even mainly the western standard of modern days but picked and chose from it things which conformed to his conception of truth and non-violence, and rejected those which were irreconcilable with his basic principles. But wherever reconciliation was possible, he adjusted them to our own conditions.

Our struggle for freedom under Mahatmaji's leadership lasted for full thirty years. During the whole of this period he insisted upon the country to abjure violence in every form. Not that everyone accepted his theory in its entirety; not that there were no sporadic cases of violence, but by and large the country accepted his principles as a working guide and carried on the movement on a basis of non-violence. Cases of violence were so far and few between and caused such insignificant loss of life and property that they could be well ignored. But Mahatma Gandhi was not the man to excuse even these small aberrations. Whenever there were any such cases, not only did he chide the people, but he actually stopped the movement even at a stage when people thought that they had gone too far to recede.

This happened not once, but on several occasions. Thus he taught the people to be disciplined. And it was not until he was convinced himself that they were in a position to give a good account of themselves and that the principle of non-violence had permeated the masses that he started the most significant and revolutionary part of his programme, namely, *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* means insistence on truth; in other words, not doing anything which is inconsistent with truth or which smacks of violence in any shape or form. This abandonment of violence in every form really made the foreign ruler helpless. If violence had been used, he had his means to meet it most effectively and to suppress it. That is why previous violent movements had failed. But when the Government of the day found that their violence did not provoke retaliatory violence on the part of the people,

they found themselves helpless. The people would not obey their laws; they would take such punishment as was inflicted on them for disobeying the laws, but would not submit to their orders. No Government could imprison, far less shoot down an entire people. Thus the prestige of the Government ebbed away, and they felt that the time had come when they should make up with the people of the country and leave it in peace. And so it happened.

It is a remarkable story how a people disarmed under the law and helpless in every way to meet force by force, could win their freedom by the use of simple but irresistible force of non-violent resistance. It, of course, required readiness on the part of the people to suffer willingly the consequences of not recognising the foreign rulers and not obeying their orders or paying their taxes or in any other way helping them. Mahatma Gandhi was at the same time careful that this should not lead to any chaos or disregard of law as such. Only such laws were to be disobeyed as he selected for the purpose on account of their obnoxiousness and their harmful effect on the morals of the people. Other laws even if they were objectionable, were to be meticulously observed. Let me tell you something about Gandhiji's attitude towards his adversaries. It will throw some light on his technique of *Satyagraha* or opposition without ill-will.

I will give you one instance to illustrate this. When a man was arrested for disobedience of law and was brought before a court of law, he was asked to admit his guilt and to take the punishment that the court awarded without offering defence. This was nothing but acting in conformity with truth because the law had been intentionally disobeyed and there could be no defence legal or otherwise in a case like that: and when as a result of the court's order a fine was, imposed, he was asked not to pay the fine but to let them realise it as best they could: and if they were sent to prison, they were asked to obey the prison rules except such as hurt their national self-respect. He thus on the one hand taught the people to disobey and disregard the existence of a government which was not their own government to disobey its laws which were considered obnoxious and obey others to submit to the punishment that was imposed willingly and not in any way to try to escape it.

Gandhiji was arrested and was placed before a court for disobeying an order in 1917. He told the Magistrate that he had intentionally disobeyed the order because he had to choose between an order of a Magistrate and his own conscience and he had chosen the latter knowingly and intentionally, and the only thing that the Magistrate could do was to inflict the punishment which he considered fit. During the course of this big movement when he was arrested again, he asked the Judge either to resign if he agreed with his point of view or to inflict upon him the highest penalty which he could.

Thus Gandhiji's words and example not only heartened the people and created courage which was lacking, but also created respect for law and order and respect for life. The British became confused and confounded in the face of a programme like this and one of the highest officials admitted it in so many words.

Foreigners who visited the country while our movement was at its height marvelled at the discipline which the people showed even under harsh physical treatment while still carrying on the tasks allotted to them by their leader. Military strength was ineffective because there was no one against whom an army could fight. They could only shoot down unarmed people who offered no physical resistance. A foreign writer remarked, and I think correctly, that by disarming his own people, Gandhiji had disarmed the British so far as India was concerned.

This in a nutshell is the story of our struggle for freedom and its success in the end. But Gandhiji also realised that the country was poor. Disease and illiteracy were rampant. At the same time he saw the evil effects of modern large-scale industrialisation. He had, therefore, to find a middle course and the criterion which he laid down was that which has been laid down by nature herself. He held that a man should be able to produce whatever he requires with his own labour, either singly or combined with the labour of others. He need take the help of only such instruments as would help in removing his exhaustion and bringing comfort and contentment.

He was not in favour of programmes which created their own problems of slums, of physical and psychological exhaustion by repetition and similar difficulties. He, therefore, thought of small industries which could be done by the people at home and which could keep them employed throughout the year, and which could give employment not only to particular classes of people, but which in their sweep would take all classes of people, even young and old, completely healthy as well as frail people. The spinning wheel he looked upon as the symbol of this kind of industry because it can be worked not only by strong hefty men, but even by old women and I have known even blind people working at the spinning wheel and producing fine yarn.

It was, therefore, not the fad of an imaginative faddist but the practical programme of a realist who could see that there were millions and millions in the land who had no work or who had only work for part of the day. It would not only enable them to utilise the time that was wasted, but it would also enable them to save millions of rupees which they then used to send out of the country for purchasing cloth manufactured in other countries. I know that in terms of modern economics, it was not possible for the spinning

wheel to compete with spinning mills, but it was not a question of competition. It was in a way the same kind of struggle that an unarmed people had to carry on against the might of an armed government. As we were more concerned at the time with politics and with the freedom struggle, we accepted this part of his economic and industrial programme also but in a secondary way; and while we acted on the political programme of non-violent *Satyagraha* and also on the programme of the spinning wheel, our attention was concentrated naturally more on the former and the latter was only as an appendage and subsidiary to it.

When we think of the present-day troubles of the world, we sometimes wonder if countries should not rethink their programmes and utilise the experience which Gandhiji's struggle has gained not only for India but for the world at large. Today, scientific and technical advancement has reached a stage when the use of violence on the scale on which it can be utilised through modern inventions, is calculated not only to ruin but to destroy humanity. Gandhiji anticipated that this was to be the end of all technical advancement in the race for armaments and he was sorry and unfortunate enough to live and see the day when Hiroshima was bombed. But his life will have been well lived if it can rouse the conscience of mankind today and the world, and especially the big countries turned towards non-violence.

It cannot be said now after our experience that, it is just a vision of a visionary. We have seen results with our own eyes, and if an unarmed people by their struggle in a non-violent way, aided of course by world forces, not the least among them being the moral and spiritual stature of their opponents, have won their freedom, there should be no difficulty for peoples of the world not only to retain their freedom, but to enrich it if they adopted the same method of non-violence. From personal experience I can say that our non-violence has been a most paying proposition for us. We have not only won our freedom, but if I may say so, we have won the hearts of our opponents also, and today the relations between England and India are more friendly than they have ever been before in history.

I can wish nothing more and nothing better than that this aspect should be studied and looked into. Gandhiji used to say that non-violence is not for the coward but for those who are really and truly brave. An armed man does not depend solely upon himself, but also upon his arms for his safety. The truly non-violent resister depends upon nothing else except his own strong heart and faith in God: and if nations could realise the strength of this kind of non-violence, I have no doubt that many of the ills from which we are suffering and the disaster which we are all apprehending will be dispelled as darkness before sunlight.

I confess to a certain feeling of hesitation in placing this high ideal before the world. It was a man like Mahatma Gandhi alone who could have placed it before the world with living faith and carried conviction with others. We humbler folk have neither that stature nor that strength of faith or conviction and it ill becomes a man whose country is still maintaining an armed force. The face of the world will change if any country, even though it be a small country, were to disarm itself completely and challenge the world to do its worst against it. It would by so doing disarm the whole world against itself, and if bigger and more powerful nations could adopt it, it would cease to be a troubled world and would become a heaven on earth. When our own people occasionally went mad and created violence, Mahatma Gandhi never despaired but hoped to wean them from violence and make of them brave men and women in the true sense of the word.

I sometimes wonder if some of the other nations will not prove with all their bravery in the wars which they have fought, with all their vast experience of killing and getting killed, and prove sooner than we have been able to do, that they are truly brave in the sense of Mahatma Gandhi by adopting non-violence as their creed and abjuring violence and disarming themselves completely. Enthusiasts and visionaries live in that hope. In a country where one regards one's life as not as valuable or of as much significance as people do in other countries and with all its background of chivalry and supreme self-sacrifice, it should be easier to adopt this course. I am not here to tender advice. I can only express the hope that you may prove even better disciples of Gandhiji than we are. After all Gandhiji was in the line of saints which goes back to Lord Buddha and earlier and which had kept burning the torch of non-violence in matters spiritual and cultural. The time has come when that light should illumine our political and economic affairs also.

With all the failings of man and nature manifested so often in all parts of the world, I firmly believe that avoidance of aggression and the use of good intentioned persuasion constitute an approach to human affairs which need not be necessarily limited to individuals or to mere sections of society. I believe these forces are strong and powerful enough to influence the course of human affairs in any walk of life, national or international. It is essentially a matter of belief or faith. Whatever the other resources that science may help men to acquire and howsoever invincible he might make himself before the other forces, of nature, true light man is destined to obtain only from faith. It is the flame of faith alone which promises inner happiness and peace outside. Is it, therefore, too much to hope that man will recognise this flame and instead of groping in the dark avail himself of its light? If other saints preceding

Gandhiji applied the principle of faith and universal love mainly to religious life, he himself sought to provide for it a wider basis, including the sphere of politics. Let us hope in course of time this principle embodied in Mahatma Gandhi's teachings will be applied to the whole sphere of human affairs, including international relationship. May be, this goal is not easy to achieve; may be it appears to be distant today; but let there be no doubt that it is the goal which humanity has to reach sooner or later in the interest of its own survival and for vesting human life with the peace and dignity of which all prophets and saints have spoken and of which men in their saner moments so often dream.

The Importance of Cultural Ties

IT HAS GIVEN me great pleasure to be present here today to lay the foundation stone of Azad Bhavan. I welcome this opportunity of saying a few words because this building will stand as a memorial to the late Maulana Azad, who played a prominent and distinguished role during our freedom struggle and later on in the post-Independence period. I had the good fortune of having known him since 1920 and as we had a common goal and a common platform we came in close touch with each other.

The importance of cultural relations among nations can hardly be over-emphasised in the present-day world. The incentive to know each other and to deal with each other for mutual advantage in the interest of commerce or furtherance of common ideals, has always been there in human society. From the earliest times, history records the establishment of close contacts among the peoples of various countries in the face of difficulties of travel by land and the hazards of voyage by sea. In the absence of this tendency and but for the far-reaching effects resulting from such contacts, it is not unlikely that the course of events in the world and, in fact, its very history might have been different from what it has been. Whether we take the Buddhist era in our history or the times when Greek and Roman civilisations were at their height, or when Islam rose and spread in the East and the West, not to speak of the modern age, it is not open to doubt that it was a result of these contacts that human culture was enriched, and ideas travelled from one country to another. Knowledge in every age has been something of a common pool of various nations rather than an exclusive preserve of anyone of them.

*Speech made while laying the foundation-stone of Azad Bhavan, Headquarters of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, November 11, 1958.

Even in that age of comparative insularity international contacts proved conducive to the advancement of knowledge, and laid the foundation of social and cultural relationship. Indeed, recorded history has not been able to keep pace with the development of those contacts, with the result that we find many a gap in our knowledge today. Archaeological finds and excavations in many parts of the world unmistakably point to mutual contacts among nations and the process of action and reaction set in motion by them. Ancient seals and coins as also sculptures on bas-reliefs discovered in recent times furnish conclusive proof of international contacts in commercial and cultural spheres.

We, in this country, have seen and known so much of this fact that we are no longer surprised when we see a newly dug up seal bearing marks resembling Egyptian hieroglyphs or a beautiful panel unearthed from Nagarjunakonda showing people from the Hellenic world among the courtesans of an Indian King. I am sure the same holds good, to a smaller or greater extent, of other ancient countries in which archaeological excavations have been carried out.

It is not merely from the point of view of social mixing or cultural exchange that we in India think of these contacts. For us they have a still deeper significance. I wonder how the narrative of Indian history would have run if travellers like Hieun-Tsang, Fa-bian, the noted geographer Ptolemy, Ibn Batuta, Alberuni, Marco Polo and many others had not travelled far and wide in this land and taken pains to record their experiences. Similarly, one finds it difficult to imagine what course history might have taken in several Asian countries and our own if Indian thought and ideas had not been carried to them by some of our people and the subsequent exchange of ideas and cultural relationship not established between those countries and India.

However, all that belongs to an age gone by. The modern age has dawned with its own peculiarities, its many inventions and scientific discoveries and its own requirements. In the light of these the concept of international contacts and cultural relationship will no doubt call for some adjustment. We cannot afford to forget, and history lends support to this fact, that the wholesome effects of international relationship on cultural basis are far more abiding than those of any other ties among nations.

The foremost need today is that the peoples inhabiting different parts of the world should know one another so that misunderstandings which flourish on ignorance are removed and, what is still more important, the way to mutual co-operation is opened with a view to sharing by all the fruits of knowledge and the blessings of Nature and eradicating misery wherever it be with common human endeavour. Although modern means

of transport have all but annihilated distance and brought nations of the world closer than they were ever before, yet the task of establishing goodwill and proper understanding between man and man and nation and nation still remains to be fully accomplished. I would like to say that it is a task which friendly contacts and exchange of cultural ideas can do much to achieve.

The various agencies of the United Nations have done and are doing useful work in this direction, but still there is considerable scope for other official and non-official agencies also to operate in this field to everyone's advantage. As my friend, Dr. Humayun Kabir has pointed out, exchange of students, providing facilities for foreign scholars and organising lectures and seminars on subjects of common interest are some of the media through which we might try to achieve the desired objective.

It is only proper that in India which can modestly claim to be friendly with all countries, there should be a cultural organisation of this kind. I am, therefore, glad to know that the Indian Council for Cultural Relations has made much headway during the short span of eight years of its existence and that it is going to have its own headquarters in New Delhi.

Nothing could be more appropriate than that this Council, which was founded by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, should be housed in a building named after him. Apart from his being a wise statesman, a far-sighted administrator and a self-sacrificing patriot, Maulana Azad was a scholar of great erudition and versatility. He had imbibed in his life all that the oriental learning and tradition can give and had adopted some of the best traits of the Western culture. Many of us looked upon him as a model of synthesis of the East and the West. He was deep and sympathetic and even when faced with conflicting situations and apparently uncompromising demands, his human approach and extraordinary capacity of reconciliation helped him to bring about an understanding between the two views or the parties holding them. The distinguished part which the Maulana played in Indian politics was no doubt largely due to his inherent qualities of head and heart, but the success which attended his efforts was no less due to the pattern of life which he had chosen for himself. He led a life of selfless work. In whatever he thought or did he kept the national interests before him and remained always above personal considerations. He inspired respect of all who came in contact with him.

It is, therefore, a happy idea to name this building which will house the headquarters of your Council as Azad Bhavan. Let us hope all those who work here and those who come to this place to attend the Council's functions will draw inspiration from the Maulana's life. I wish the Indian Council for Cultural Relations the best of luck and a long and successful career in the interest of national and international amity and goodwill.

Let Us Strive for Social and Economic Betterment

MY GREAT AND good friend. I thank you most sincerely for the kind thoughts and sentiments that you have expressed on this occasion.

As Your Majesty has been pleased to point out, the relations between your country and mine have been of a most intimate character, and have left their indelible mark in thought, word, and all other cultural expressions. It is after all these links which have kept different peoples and countries in terms of amity and goodwill. And if I may be permitted to say, it is a lack of proper appreciation of these values that is leading to estrangement and worse between peoples. Science and technology have made tremendous progress and abolished distance. The natural result of this should be closer links and friendlier contacts, but man's spiritual progress has not kept pace with this scientific achievement, and mankind is walking literally on the crater of a worldwide volcano which may explode any day. Let us hope and pray that humanity in man will assert itself and turn all these potential engine of destruction into instruments of production and happiness. I am, therefore, hoping that the contact which is being renewed with vigour today will be fruitful of the good that is expected of it, namely better understanding, truer appreciation and stronger bond of friendship.

Apart from thankfulness, my deepest feeling now, if I may say so, is that of great humility. It is the kind of humility that one experiences when one is face to face with history with the weight of years of struggle behind and the vista of years of endeavour ahead.

Two decades ago, freedom was a goal that we were endeavouring to reach, but could not predict when we would be able to attain it. Yet we knew that there was no limit to human endeavour, and that God willing, one day we would win freedom. We did. And after years of endeavour you have also done the same.

Now that we both have attained freedom and have earned the great privilege of liberty, you and I, your country and mine, your people and mine—we are all travellers on the same road – the road to a future that is bright and full of hope but which demands from us devoted and dedicated work. I feel convinced that we both in Malaya and in India will work together as friends and equals towards this future.

Reply to speech at the State banquet in his honour, Kuala Lumpur, December 6, 1958

Both our Governments and peoples are engaged in the common task of giving to our political freedom that economic and social content which makes for peace, progress and the betterment of the lot of the common man. We shall devote ourselves to these noble tasks in a spirit of humility and dedication in the service of our people. On behalf of myself, my Government and the people of India, I bring our warmest felicitations and good wishes to the people of Malaya and wish all success to Your Majesty and the Government of the Federation of Malaya in their efforts to promote the happiness and prosperity of your people and enable them to make their contribution to the peace and happiness of mankind.

Satya and Ahimsa should Guide Human Relations

I USE NO words of convention when I say that I accept with deep feelings of humility the honour which it has pleased the University authorities to confer upon me. There was a time in my life when as a student I studied a little law and for a few years I actually practised as a lawyer. If you permit me to go into a little personal history, I might also say that after passing the highest examination in law in my University which was the Calcutta University, I wanted to have a doctorate in law for which I was preparing a thesis, but for good or evil I missed that opportunity because I was attracted by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings and became one of his humble followers. Not only did I give up the profession, but I have almost during the last nearly 40 years now, forgotten what little of law I had then learnt and acquired. But as you have been pleased to point out, my life has been dedicated to the service of my people, and in my own humble way I have been trying to live the law which Mahatma Gandhi would have liked to establish for not only us, but for all mankind.

The fundamental basis of his teaching is *satya* and *ahimsa*, truth and non-violence. Even during my earliest meetings with him, I learnt from him that a time might arise in a man's life when it became incumbent upon him as a true citizen to disobey a law which was against his conscience. But the limitation to this was that he must be a truly loyal citizen obeying the law which was above all law, namely the law of truth and non-violence or *satya* and *ahimsa*. He over and over again told us in the days of our satyagraha struggle that only they should disobey the law who were prepared

to obey other laws than those which they felt impelled to disobey. It did not mean that a man had to become a lawless man or that he had to renounce all obedience to law. It only meant that he had to develop that higher sense within himself which dispensed with all external sanctions and which made not only the person who obeyed the sanctions but also the person who made the sanctions for himself, and these sanctions were to be in conformity, as I have said, with truth and non-violence.

It was in this sense that from the very earliest days I came to regard it as a part of his teachings, that in following truth, one had to be very vigilant and cautious lest one might commit mistakes and attribute those mistakes to others, or cast blame upon others for what one was oneself responsible. It taught me to do unto others what I would like others do up to me. It taught me to live a life in which my requirements would not be such as to necessitate the curtailment of the supplies to others. I learnt that the law of love which one ordinarily found in a family has a far more extensive import than we generally attribute to it and that it can be, and as a matter of fact should be extended to cover not only people outside the family within the same country, but also outside one's own country, and indeed to cover the whole of humanity. But *ahimsa* does not stop there. It goes further and requires you to treat life wherever it is found, as of great value, and not to serve your own self by committing violence on any other living being.

In a country like India where we have people following different religions and speaking different languages it was absolutely necessary, as a matter of ordinary precaution and expediency, that we observed this law with all its full implications. Life would become impossible if we suffered any indulgence in disregarding this law; and you can now easily understand why even in our struggle against the British, Mahatma Gandhi insisted upon non-violence as the absolutely unbreakable rule in our conduct. I have said all this because I saw him working, as you have been pleased to mention, first in Champaran against the European indigo planters who oppressed the ordinary cultivators. We saw this law of *ahimsa* working not only in a negative way, but also in a positive way. Non-violence does not mean not doing harm to others. It means much more. It means doing positive good to others. It is not enough not to return hatred for hatred. The law requires that you should return love for hatred, and because I had the privilege of seeing this actually working, I became mentally convinced of its efficacy and devoted myself to it. The planters had been oppressing the cultivators for nearly a hundred years and the poor cultivators had tried all means which they could imagine to be relieved for this oppression. They had sought the aid of the law courts and had failed. They had rebelled in a small way because they

could not do that in a big enough way, and they had failed. Their revolt had ended only in increasing the oppression on them. They sought the aid of the legislature wherever it was possible, and they had failed.

When Mahatma Gandhi came to the scene, he at once saw that all this oppression was possible because the people had fear in their hearts and because the planters enjoyed prestige. Cowardice he always regarded as a sin worse than violence, because it meant that the coward entertained feelings of vengeance, but did not, out of fear, give vent to his feelings; whereas in the case of a violent person, the violence was not suppressed, but found expression. He, therefore, struck both of these at their root. He taught cultivators to become bold and free from fear, and as they became free from fear, the prestige of the planters which had been built upon fear, crumbled and naturally within a year the oppression which had gone on for a hundred years and which had in fact been sanctified in a way by special laws, ceased, the law itself being repealed. This happened in 1917-18; and when he embarked upon his larger programme of truth and non-violence, non-co-operation for the whole country, not only those of us who had had the good fortune of being associated with him in the Champaran campaign, but the whole country understood the significance of it, and many of us felt that just as the Champaran campaign ended in a year, the campaign of winning freedom from the British rule would also end in success. Only it might take a longer time, more men to work for it, and greater sacrifice to be made in its cause. And so it did happen.

We were able, not in one year, but just in 27 years after the start of the Movement, to get power transferred to us by the British, and Mahatma Gandhi was witness to it. Three years later we became a Republic. During the Champaran Movement, Mahatma Gandhi used to tell people that he did not wish ill to the planters. All that he wanted was that the oppression for which they were responsible should cease; and this is exactly what happened. The oppression ceased but they were not sufferers because they took to other means of livelihood, and for aught we know, were not any the worse for having had to leave their indigo manufacture and plantations which they sold off before retiring for good price. We felt even then that it would happen also to the British Empire in the same way; and we found that so far as India was concerned, the British Empire ended; and I have a feeling that they have not been losers, and as a matter of fact, our relations with them have never been more satisfactory than at present.

We have thus had practical experience of the law of *ahimsa* in its positive form working and producing results. Naturally a man in my position

would, therefore, wish the same law to be accepted and adopted in practice by all nations of the world. We know that there are great difficulties, not the least among which are psychological. Man has been making tremendous progress in many directions; but his moral and mental equipment has not been able to keep pace with his intellectual and material, scientific and technological attainments: and the result is that in the absence of a psychology strong enough to overrule differences in thought and ideology, mankind has today to be in constant fear of annihilation. Death however comes only once either to a man or to a nation, although what is called life may be nothing more or better than a life of misery, a living death. This can be conquered only by a positive approach of *ahimsa*, and that is to defy death, and to root out from the minds of others the fear of death by the force of one's own love.

Although it may look presumptuous on my part to say so, I make bold to assert that the only effective answer to the atom and hydrogen bomb is not more of such bombs, but complete abolition of them, and that only a nation of brave people can achieve that by defying death and annihilation. I have no doubt in my mind that if some nation were, even today, to show the way by completely disarming itself and defying all other nations to do their worse to it, it would set an example like that of martyrs of old, who, though apparently killed, left a life behind them which has enlivened millions and millions of people. A nation in this age of nuclear physics armed only with fearless heads and stout hearts, can defy the most elaborately armed nation, having at its command the most dangerous weapons of destruction. If Mahatma Gandhi had remained alive, he might have placed this ideal before the world in an effective way, and I have a feeling that the world would have listened to his appeal. But unfortunately he is no more, but his words are there, his life is there, and if only we could study them and understand their significance, and what is more, adopt them in our lives, we would be able to solve the problems of the present-day world.

Universal disarmament is, however, our ideal and we look forward to the day when it would become a reality, though I confess with regret that no country, including my own, has yet been able to achieve this ideal so eloquently presented by Gandhiji.

I fear I have trespassed much on your patience and have ventured to place before you my innermost feelings and to give expression to my highest hopes, not for my country only but for all. I need hardly assure you that I value this honour which you have conferred upon me all the more because I am conscious that I have not deserved it by anything that I have done, and I accept it more as a generous gift than a reward earned by me.

Freedom Brings New Responsibilities

PERMIT ME TO begin with a personal reference. His Excellency President Soekarno was the first Head of a State to visit free India. He was present at the inauguration of our Republic—January 26, 1950—and it became my privilege after my installation as the President of India, to bid him farewell when he left our country. Ever since then, it has not only been an obligation which I had to discharge but also an earnest wish on my part to visit your country, and I am really happy that I have at least been able to discharge that obligation and to fulfill that wish of mine.

I really find it difficult to thank you for the warmth and kindness that have been showered upon me ever since I set foot on the soil of your great country. The friendly sentiments and cordial greetings of your people or me and my country have been overwhelming. While I hasten to reciprocate them and express my deep gratitude, I would like to assure you of the unbounded goodwill and the feeling of friendliness that the people of India cherish for Indonesia and her people. It is not merely in the spirit of exchanging compliments or platitudes that I am saying these words. Permit me to say that these sentiments are grounded in perfect understanding, mutual goodwill and the desire to be of help to each other.

Before I came here, I had read something, and heard something about your country which has been endowed by Nature with a beauty and a charm all its own. I am reminded of one half of a Persian couplet that says "*Shunida Kai bawad manind deeda*". (How can what has only been heard equal that which has been actually seen?) You have simply charmed me by your art. I believe that that art is real which is not artificial and which forms part of life and comes naturally. I have found that with you, art is not a hot house product cultivated by a few and so necessarily confined to a few. Out of every simple materials available locally and as a matter of tradition without the help of elaborate arrangements for training in well-equipped institutions, you have developed a high skill in painting, in wood-carving, in making musical instruments, in decorating your surroundings, roads and houses and in your music and dance, and in making your life elegant, which is as charming and bewitching as it is natural. It has, therefore, become part of the life of the people who are gay and happy, and have in this way defied for ages the devastating effects of want and poverty. The verdure and variegated colour of your land, the bewitching charm of your art and the effusive expression of your love and welcome that I have experienced, have made an indelible impression.

Speech at a public meeting, Djakarta (Indonesia), December 18, 1958.

I have now been in your country for ten days. I have travelled great distances and seen much. Yours is a country rich in culture and resources, both material and spiritual. I am confident that under the able guidance of my great and esteemed friend and brother, President Soekarno, your country and your people will achieve prosperity in freedom which is your destiny. I have no doubt that the opportunity which freedom has brought with it will be fully utilised for the good of the people, for raising their standard of living and for their general well-being. Your own courage and determination and President Soekarno's wise leadership are a guarantee that you will surmount all your present difficulties and usher in an era of peace and prosperity for all your people.

Being here has made me realise more clearly than ever before, how close my country and yours have been throughout the ages. There was commerce between the two lands, and a free flow of thought, civilisation and culture. It was unfortunate that for a time these contacts had been lost. You have known long years of foreign rule, the horrors of war and occupation, the blood, sweat and tears of the years of your struggle for freedom. We also had our share of trials and tribulations. You have emerged victorious from this struggle and so have we. And what has been the goal, the watch-word of all our efforts and endeavours? The idea of freedom, of liberty, of the right to rule ourselves, to fashion our destiny with our own hands and the right to live in peace with other nations of the world. The heroes of your struggle for freedom laid down their lives for this priceless possession—liberty—and ours did the same.

The quality of freedom has brought to all of us new responsibilities. We, as much as you, have been faced with the task of evolving and defining an attitude towards the rest of the world, that will ensure for all of us alike, respect, dignity, and independence. We all have a basic philosophy of life, recognising the sanctity of the individual as well as of the community we belong to. You have your *Pantja Sila* based on your experience. We have, thanks to the wise guidance and leadership of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, and the sages who went before him, the basic philosophy of non-violence in word, thought and deed. It is from these basic philosophic concepts and similar concepts of our other brethren in Asia and Africa that the Bandung principles were formulated in that historic gathering of Afro-Asian nations to which your great country played host in 1954.

Since the ending of the last war, countries of Asia and Africa have been gradually coming into their own. In many cases colonial rule and foreign domination have given place to freedom. In this wave of resurgence that has swept the continents of Asia and Africa, I feel happy to say that your

country and your national leaders have played a role of which all of us feel proud. The earlier regimes have bequeathed a legacy of problems which have to be faced and solved in order to vest independence with meaning and significance. The progress so far made in this direction is no doubt heartening. The task of national reconstruction in the present age is stupendous in every country. The process may sometimes look long and tortuous, but it has to be followed with determination in the wider interest of the nation and the world at large.

We are living in an age when no appraisal of a country's problems may be realistic without taking into account international relations. Technological advances and the great strides that science has made may well change the very connotation of the terms national and international. New inventions have given wings to man, making travel quick and easy and destroying distance as a barrier between country and country.

The dynamic age in which we live, the tremendous strides made in science and technology and the multitude of complex and difficult problems we have to face from day to day, leave us little time to pause and to reflect upon the spiritual contents of our actions. Our minds tend to be occupied too much with the problems of our material existence from day to day. In this preoccupation, the broader perspective of our personal as well as national existence tends to become lost in a confusion of every day details. Admittedly, there are troubles that have to be faced everyday but, on the whole, there has to be an overall awareness of the meaning and purpose of our individual as well as our national existence. To sustain us through the days of stress and strain that beset all of us equally, we all need a philosophy of life—a philosophy that helps us to preserve our faith in ourselves and our fellowmen. This is why we have all along tried to stress the importance of achieving a state of moral consciousness which would give us the courage never to compromise with injustice, and to protest against injustice wherever it may occur.

All this scientific and technological progress would augur well for humanity if only scientific knowledge had not shown us its other facet. Along with many a blessing, science has also given us weapons of destruction which can efface all humanity. We find ourselves in a situation when it has become an inescapable and essential condition for preservation of international peace, that these deadly gadgets remain unused. Never before was the question of international amity and goodwill of greater importance than today. Whatever its politics or ideology, every country today swears by world peace, and I take it, endeavours in its own way to safeguard it. That sentiment or policy, if you like to call it, has to be stabilised in the

minds of men, and especially of statesmen and leaders of countries. It has to be given the practical and realistic form of renunciation of war, or at least of disarmament, in particular of the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons to begin with as a firm policy of action. Is it too much to suggest that the least that can be and should be done is to give up the tests which I believe are undertaken with a view to finding out the further and more destructive efficiency of improvements that are being constantly made? Bold action, especially when it is backed by the nobler instincts, if not the tacit consent of mankind, is bound to be supported by the public opinion of the world. When Mahatma Gandhi started and embarked upon his active programme of non-violent non-co-operation, he insisted on non-violence even in the face of the most blatant violence of the opponent. A nation disarming itself at least of nuclear weapons will be practically and virtually disarming other nations of such weapons even though they may possess them. In any case unilateral stoppage of these terrible tests cannot fail to enforce similar action on the part of others. We who are happily not possessed of such engines of destruction and are determined not to have them, can only plead with others who possess them and ask for an application of even a part of the scientific knowledge and technical skill and natural resources now being utilised for producing what may never be used at all, and if ever used, will end in destroying not only the so-called enemy but also the country using it – to be diverted to productive purposes to make a heaven instead of a hell of this earth. We must realise betimes that humanity with all its progress, has ultimately to resort to non-violence for its survival. That is the message which Gandhi would have given to the world with a fervour and conviction that could not fail to make an effective appeal to the nobler instincts and inherent intelligence with which humanity has been endowed by Providence. Gandhiji developed a technique of active non-violent resistance against injustice and oppression as an effective substitute for violent war. He believed that for opposing anything unfair, one's internal courage based on truth and non-violence was as more potent weapon than any brutal violence or animal force. As long as he lived and led our freedom struggle, he stuck to this principle, amending and improving it in the light of practical experience. How much one wishes he had lived for some years more so that he could apply this theory to international affairs as well, since during his life time, its use was naturally confined to India's internal affairs only and was in the nature of an experiment with truth which was the course of his whole eventful life.

If I had not felt that I am talking to people who are like brothers to us, I might not have dwelt at such length on this point. When I speak about the virtues and practical utility of non-violence, I have no right to pose that I

am speaking from a high pedestal. It is not given to me to do so, because in my own country we have not been able to live up to the high standards of the Mahatma, though we strive to follow in his footsteps. Therefore, whatever I have said is not necessarily addressed to men and women of any particular country, but to all those interested in finding a way out of the present impasse. I am sure it will be worth while for all nations to consider whether fostering the spirit of non-violence is not the best reply to the challenge of nuclear weapons. You and we are in a neutral position and may make the appeal.

Friends, I have had the good fortune to enjoy your hospitality and the kindness, warmth and generosity of spirit with which you have received me wherever I went. I have received from my brother Soekarno not only the courtesies that are exchanged between Heads of States as a matter of form, but what is infinitely more valuable, tender affection which has not only touched my heart but entered it to remain enshrined there in. The Romans used to say 'I came, I saw, I conquered'. I can say for myself— 'I came, I saw and I am conquered'. I shall carry with me pleasant memories and a profound feeling of friendship. Before I go, let me once again pledge to the people of Indonesia, our friendship. I would also like to thank you, for the good things you have said about me and my country. May I assure you that the people of India hold the people of Indonesia in the highest esteem and greatly value their friendship. May the Almighty bless you all!

Indo-Cambodian Friendship

I CONSIDER IT a great honour and privilege to have been invited to your beautiful country and to have got an opportunity of meeting you, Members of the Parliament of Cambodia. I have been impressed by the progress that you have made during the last few years since freedom. It is indeed creditable that you have since had general elections twice.

You as well as we have decided in favour of and adopted a democratic set-up of government. This form of democracy is undoubtedly a plant of recent growth and requires much nursing and looking after, to enable it to strike deep roots in our life and culture, and to grow strong enough to withstand the stresses and strains which are, in the very nature of things, inevitable. The fundamental and basic factors are faith in the personality of the individual, and a realisation of the essential nature of freedom which is not content until it is able to guarantee and ensure similar freedom to other individuals constituting the society.

It naturally follows that freedom is not just an abstract concept which has only to be ideologically accepted. It requires to be imbued with an economic content to enable it to function in human society. This freedom with its ideological concept and economic content, can be enjoyed by one and all only if it is based on non-violence and truth, so that everyone respects similar freedom of everyone else—and in an ideal society, this respect for freedom becomes a duty willingly and cheerfully discharged by everyone and ceases to be a right to be enforced by anyone against anyone else.

Those countries which like yours and mine have passed through periods of political domination by other countries over them and have only recently emerged from that stage, have before them the opportunity and the privilege of so developing and managing their affairs as to become in course of time a mighty irresistible non-violent force, composed of small single strains, each weak in itself but unbreakable in combination. If we only took at the number of countries emerging out of subservient domination into purposeful freedom, we can understand the significance of the great change that is coming over the continents of the world. Further, if they could combine with determination, even the latest- weapons of mass destruction would be ineffective against them.

Your Parliament, therefore, has the great task and the proud privilege to shape the destiny of the people of Cambodia, whose past has been a history of such splendid achievements, so that its future may be yet more glorious.

The Government and the people of Cambodia, like all other countries of Asia which have won their freedom in recent years; are grappling with momentous tasks of national consolidation and of carrying the fruits of freedom to the people of their country. This undertaking is of supreme importance because it is in its success that the very purpose and the *raison d'etre* of freedom lie. It has, therefore, to be looked upon as an epoch of national reconstruction, an epoch in which the living conditions of people should improve, and a relentless war waged on ignorance and poverty.

Important though it is to bestow full attention on the pressing problems of the present, no one coming from India like me to your country for the first time, can resist the temptation of looking back and recalling the halcyon days of close relationship and utmost friendliness between your people and our people. In the past we met as close friends interested in exchange of ideas, art, literature and cultural thought, which our two countries practised on a wide scale, to our mutual advantage. Thus we came to be sharers of a common heritage for a good many years.

Then came a time when the wheel of fortune started moving differently, making both of us lose our freedom. Happily that chapter too is now over and both Cambodia and India have emerged as independent nations, free to shape their respective destinies. Freedom is always welcome, but I dare say, in the case of the peoples of our two countries it is doubly welcome as it has once again brought us together. Once again we have met as friends, conscious of our old ties and determined to make them stronger still in the interest of our countries and our peoples, and in the larger interests of peace in the world.

I am very happy to have come here today and met all of you. I am deeply grateful to you, Mr. Speaker, for your words of welcome and kind sentiments, expressed for me and my countrymen. Need I say that I heartily reciprocate them from my side and also on behalf of the Government and the people of India. I wish and pray that modern Cambodia may continue to progress on the path of nation building so that it may soon achieve, if not surpass, the glories of its great past.

Material Prosperity and Spiritual Values Important

I AM INDEED privileged and happy to meet the representatives of the Universities and Cultural Associations of South Vietnam.

Belonging as our two countries do to the continent of Asia, the cradle of some of the oldest civilisations of the world, our cultures have met and interacted for centuries. We are now only at a few hours' distance from each other as I have just seen and we have before us the same task facing every nation, big or small in Asia—the task of building up—building up a sense of security and achievement in the material sphere of wants. For this we have to adopt western techniques. We have also to endeavour to integrate this process of economic reconstruction with our cultural and spiritual heritage. It is a hard task though it is lightened somewhat by the co-operation we receive from friendly countries all over the world.

Within recent years there have been two developments of immense and incalculable dimensions for humanity. One is the tremendous advance in science and technology resulting in the development of nuclear energy and the conquest of space, throwing wide open unlimited vistas of progress or destruction. The other is a phenomenon of a different type altogether, which relates not so much to material development as to the growing

awakening and the almost irresistible move of the long suppressed and submerged masses of humanity in the Continents particularly in Asia and Africa—suppressed for centuries by human power and submerged in slavery of ignorance and superstition. Both these totally different but not necessarily antagonistic expressions of elemental energy are capable of infinite good as well as of infinite evil.

The evil and destructive nature of nuclear energy has already been demonstrated in a form which cannot be missed or mistaken, but there is no doubt that the same energy can be used for the good of humanity in innumerable ways. Similarly the energy emerging out of the sufferings and travails of the suppressed and oppressed may well take a destructive form, but can also be channelised for the good not only of the peoples and countries concerned, but also of all others. But whether these incalculable forces will be utilised for good depends upon the wisdom, farsightedness and simple faith of men and women of the world—men and women of the so-called advanced and progressive people on less than of the people materially backward and poor, but otherwise rich and resourceful. It is for countries like yours and mine which have seen adversity, have emerged into freedom and are engaged in the high endeavour of, on the one hand, raising the material standard of the people and, on the other, of keeping intact the spiritual values which are humanity's great heritage, to play their own part and make their own contribution. I can only hope and pray that we shall have the strength and wisdom to stick to the straight but narrow path and move in the right direction.

We of Asia are an ancient people. Our composite memory goes far back into the depths of past time. To us, technology and industry of the kind we have adopted from the West, can only be a means to the end of some kind of self-sufficiency and freedom from want. Hence our insistence on culture, and the need to hold fast to our heritage which sprang from the musings and meditations of many wise and dedicated men who lived and gave of their best through the ages. For, culture, like life itself, is a growing living thing, and any change in the informing spirit of the national life of the country begins to reflect at once in the character of its culture. Thus, a too materialistic approach to problems untempered with the marked ethical quality of our past, is bound to coerce and destroy these vital elements of our identity. Hence in our effort in industrializing and changing the face of the land, we have constantly to keep in view this fact and continue to infuse into all our artistic expressions—literature, music, drama and dance—our traditional spirit of humility and integrity.

Universities and other centres of thought and culture can help in this great endeavour, and I trust you will make your contribution as your country has done in the past.

I am glad indeed to have had this opportunity of sharing with you some of my refection and thank you for your gracious welcome.

Quest for an Ideal Human Society

I AM GRATEFUL to you for the very kind words and sentiments you have expressed about me. Your generous utterances are hardly deserved, and only make me realise my own humbleness all the more. It is always an exhilarating experience to come in contact with youth and men of learning and culture, and where else can you find them both together if not in a university and other centres of learning and culture.

Man's foremost desire since the beginning of life on earth has been to make himself happy and to evolve a perfect human society. Whether he has always striven in the right direction, whether the successes achieved by him have always been abiding or otherwise, whether the means employed by him have always been such as to command his own acceptance if others were to employ them against him—these are questions which, though not irrelevant to our enquiry, belong to history. Steering clear of the details, let us today think of the paradox which man's paramount ambition to be happy and his doings have somehow created.

The world has been advancing at a tremendous speed and man has been conquering obstacles and difficulties of immense proportions, and solving problems which at one time appeared to be insoluble. We have reached a stage in which one may feel tempted to ask—What next? Science and technology have been developed to such an extent that if we only had the wisdom and the commonsense to utilise them for the benefit of humanity rather than for its destruction, every one could be made to live happily with all necessities supplied and comfort assured. There are vistas of illimitable progress in this direction if we only knew how to utilise what has already been achieved and to advance further in the right direction. But unfortunately, man as a spiritual and human being, has not been able to keep pace with his own intellect, and so everything is capable of being utilised in the wrong way and the world turned topsy-turvy. Within very recent times space has been conquered and

Reply to the address of welcome presented to him at the Vietnam University, March 24, 1959.

other planets are beginning to be explored. But if we are not able to manage our affairs within our homes and within our countries and within this world, of what use will it be to conquer other planets.

I do not deprecate science. I admire all that has been achieved. At the same time I cannot help feeling that mere material prosperity is not enough to make man either happy or better, truly speaking.

Material wherewithal is, without doubt, necessary for making life free from want and therefore happy, but it is a statement which must be qualified in order to guard against contrary results. Unbridled acquisitiveness has unfortunately brought the modern world to the verge of a grim crisis. The long-cherished ideal of a society of free human beings living together co-operatively and creatively like brothers in a family, which man set before himself when he began his journey ages ago, is turning into a mirage in spite of unprecedented strides made by science and technology. Man is separated from man and country from country and the human family is torn into fragments by tensions, fears and distrusts. The very means which could help man achieve his goal threaten his complete annihilation. Ordinarily, one would expect that a man who wishes to rule others, should be able to rule himself. The teaching since time immemorial of all teachers of mankind has been intended and has aimed at furthering man's contentment and happiness. But somehow or other we have found that man has always wanted more the more he has got. He never feels full and is ever hankering for something which he has not got.

How have things come to such a pass? Why should there be greed and so much discontent when man has acquired the capacity and the technique to produce enough for all? This is the time for you, young men, stirred by idealism, to look for an answer and remember the original purpose behind man's sufferings and ceaseless toil through the ages.

Many a great men have pondered over this malaise and tried to give a ready solution. I commend for your consideration today the Laws of Life enunciated by the Enlightened One, the Buddha, more than 2,500 years ago. He characterised these laws as the laws of love and truth. Others after him tried to understand and propagate them with varying degrees of success. Mahatma Gandhi was one of them. He applied this golden law to the problem confounding our country and history has recorded his success as unique. Unfortunately we are but poor followers of the Mahatma and we have not been able to practise all that he preached. But the little that my country had imbibed has flowered into *Panchsheel* and the spirit of sincere friendliness for the countries of the world. It is our earnest effort to draw more and more on what Gandhiji taught us. Let me hope other nations

of the world would also make a serious study of his thought and try to imbibe his teachings, for Gandhiji may be said to belong to no particular nation but the whole world.

Let me hope that nations will recognise more and more the validity of the common experience that in politics and international affairs, no less than in private individual matters, everyone wishes that no one else shall harm—but that unfortunately it very often happens that everyone does not at the same time wish that he himself shall not harm anyone else knowingly or unknowingly, consciously or unwittingly. How happy should we all feel if we accepted as the real rule of conduct—‘Do unto others as you would wish others to do unto you’, and Do not do unto others what you would not wish others do unto you. If this basis of reciprocity is accepted, all our conflicts and troubles would easily be solved.

It is a far cry from the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi to the atomic weapons and ballistic missiles. But it is my sincere belief that situated as we are today, the only alternative to the way of non-violence, which is the way of creative co-operation, is non-existence. I know the light today looks dim and to many the plea to non-violence may sound as out of joint with the times, but in my humble view that is all the more reason why faith in the cardinal virtues of non-violence and truth must be resuscitated.

None can possibly contribute more to the revival of man’s faith in man than the youth, which explains why I have chosen to place my thoughts before you this evening.

The Concept of Positive Peace

I THANK YOUR Highness for the kind words you have spoken about me and my country and for your lavish hospitality.

Our being here together today is a symbol and an emphasis of the growing closeness between our two countries. The bonds, cultural and spiritual, between our two peoples have in the few years since independence been accentuated by the close similarity in our objectives and our endeavour. We have to accomplish in a breathless hurry what has taken better-equipped countries several decades to achieve and we have also to ensure that in this hurried economic effort we do not lose sight of the spiritual and cultural values that distinguish our peoples. Thus, with us peace is not only an ideal but a necessity—peace not merely in the sense of an absence of armed

conflicts, but a conscious direction of national and individual energy to what is positively and powerfully good. The power that science has placed in the hands of man has made this direction an urgent necessity.

Apsara, in Sanskrit means water-nymph, a liquid thing of light and fairy life, and when we set up our atomic reactor in Bombay and called it *Apsara*, I was touched by the sweetness of the name, and at once could not help thinking that this water-maiden can also be, if used for the wrong ends, a horrible gorgon many-headed, and wearing a skirt of serpents. When atomic fission began first to be studied in a small way in India, we had at once symbolically committed ourselves to be among the modern States, and since names contribute greatly to the picture of the object in the minds of people, *Apsara* made it delicate and beneficent. And so it is bound to be for we are a peaceful people and for our neighbours we have only sentiments of affection and regard. We know that it is the same with Laos. We, neither of us, have nor desire the power to dictate to anyone. The only power we have or hope to have is the power of persuasion and appeal. Hence loving and needing peace as we do, we persist in our appeal that the Great Powers do not arm themselves with weapons of global destruction but turn the power and force of the atom into account in the only war worth fighting—the war against want, poverty and disease. This is the war, exciting and fun of rewards which countries like ours are engaged in fighting and Laos is fortunate to be so ably led in this endeavour.

The International Buddhist Centre

IT IS A source of much pleasure and, if I may say so, of great excitement for me to visit the international Buddhist Centre today. It adds to my pleasure that the very first institution I have the privilege to visit in your beautiful island is an institution whose main purpose is to promote understanding and appreciation of the teachings of Lord Buddha not only among people of this country but also of other countries. The message of the Buddha is an integral part of our heritage. Its tenets have been household knowledge to many millions of Asians. The history of the growth and spread of Buddhism is a remarkable example of the manner in which ideas travel and how readily man responds to a prophet's healing message. Generations come and go, times keep on changing and the flux of events alters in many a case the very shape of countries and their peoples, but the perennial truth embodied in such divine messages lives for ever. The teachings of Lord Buddha essentially belong to this category.

Speech made while unveiling the statue of the Buddha at the International Buddhist Centre, Colombo (Ceylon), June 16, 1939.

Holding the key to so much well-being and insight as Buddhism offers, the need for a correct appreciation of its beneficent effect and capacity and potentiality for peace and goodwill was never more urgent than it is today. Never before in the history of mankind has the need for reappraisal of man's destiny on this planet become more urgent than now. It is in this context that the work of an International Buddhist Centre becomes significant.

Your ancient country lies in the pathway of moving peoples. From all over the world they come, stay a while and go their way. It is for such people that this Centre of International Buddhism will have its greatest meaning. And indeed whatever work this Centre has done so far furnishes ample proof that it intends to take full advantage of Ceylon's geographical position as also of other favourable factor in propagating the benign message of the Lord. Bringing together diverse nationalities in their quest for wisdom, it bids fair to be a centre of rich and varied exchange. A kind of cussedness or indifference is the hallmark of this age and the Buddha's message of positive outgoing compassion will give such of them as are by their stay at this Centre to absorb the spirit of this understanding a talisman for the rest of their lives.

I am sure many of you must be knowing that lately there has been a phenomenal revival of interest in Buddhism in India. It seems as if centuries of foreign domination had cast a pall of oblivion and covered from our eyes the serene rays of an invaluable gem, which the first touch of freedom served to show up in all its resplendence. Though Buddhism as an organised religion had ceased to function in the land of its birth, its principal tenets which had emanated from Indian thought and make-up had been re-assimilated in Hinduism, and Buddha himself had been accepted and worshipped as an Avtar of Vishnu.

The influence of Buddhism on Indian thought and emotional life has been stupendous. It had a far-reaching effect on our social system, our literature and, more than anything else, on our fine arts, particularly sculpture, architecture, painting, etc. Even today most of what passes for Indian art is either the direct outcome of the impact of Buddhism or has been deeply influenced by it.

But more far-reaching and immeasurable has been the impact of the teachings of Lord Buddha in different and distant parts of Asia. It has been a matter of pleasure and inspiration to me to see it still in an active form ruling and regulating the lives of millions of people in the countries which I have recently visited. I remember to have quoted in one of my speeches in one of these countries a beautiful line from the great Hindi poet and devotee,

Tulsidas: “*Upjahe anat anat chhavi lahahin*”—born in one place but attaining glory and splendour in another. Not that it did not attain maturity and all the beauty and strength that go with youth in its land of birth, but its achievements in distant lands have been even more remarkable in that they are seen and felt as an active form in the lives of the people and not only studied and appreciated in libraries, museums and great works of art. The establishment and existence of a centre like yours are proof of that vitality.

I am very happy, therefore, to see this Centre and know of its activities at first hand. Many such centres are called for in the world today and it is in Asia that they are easily established. Whether from Colombo or Delhi or any other capital, the content of the message that such a centre will carry will be the same. It is a happy augury that there is not only a recognition of the need for this message but also an apparatus by which its essential elements can be made easy of access. Mankind with all its achievements in the world of science and technology is in sore need of that spiritual element in its mental and moral equipment which only a message like that of the Buddha can give. This centre, therefore, can do much in restoring the lost keel and anchor of the human family.

It is from these premises, no doubt, that the illustrious founder of this centre, Mr. Oliver Fernando, worked and toiled with untiring zeal and devotion to emphasise its international character. Its outgoing and positive nature is its distinguishing feature. By training monks and missionaries who are equipped with devotion and understanding of the Buddha's teachings and sending them to countries of the world, this centre would, I am sure, enrich the spiritual practice of other lands and increase the fund of reflection and active goodwill available to humanity.

Recasting the Educational Systems

I NEED HARDLY say how deeply I appreciate the honour which this University has been pleased to confer upon me, the Degree of Doctor of Letters (*Honoris Causa*). I am all the more conscious of my inadequacy for the honour because I know that although in my earlier days I aspired to academic distinctions, I was not able to achieve the Doctorate and was taken away to other fields of work, and I have had to wait for this honour to be conferred upon me by the kindness of other universities including my own. I thank you most heartily also for the honour you have done me by asking me to deliver the Convocation Address on this occasion.

Speech at the special convocation of the University of Ceylon, Kandy, June 19, 1959.

I do not know if I can do better than to relate to you some of our own experiences of the kind of education which we have been receiving in our country because I feel that your experiences must also be more or less similar and the problems which you are facing today after attaining independence, must also be more or less of the same nature as we have had to face in our country after attaining independence.

As you may be well aware, we had a long argument in the 30's of the nineteenth century in India whether the English system of education should be introduced in India or whether the then East India Company should encourage education of the old traditional type that was then prevalent there, and as a result of long discussion in which a leading part was taken by Macaulay, it was decided that the Government should encourage the British type of education including acquirement of a knowledge of their language, and the universities which came into existence for the first time in 1857 or thereabouts, celebrated the First Centenary only two years ago. These were the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Since then much has changed. These universities were started as merely examining institutions which affiliated to them a number of colleges spread over the area over which they had their jurisdiction, and they prescribed the courses of study, thus laying down some sort of standard for education, and this has continued as the fundamental basis of our education up to now. Another question was whether the English language should be the medium of instruction, especially in colleges and universities. At the present moment we are trying to shift to our own Indian languages because there is a feeling that our national make-up will not be complete so long as we depend upon a foreign tongue for expressing our thoughts and that feeling has been ruling for many many years. Mahatma Gandhi introduced Hindi as the language for all-India purposes and our Constitution has accepted Hindi as the language for all-India purposes, and it has also given recognition to many languages which are prevalent in different parts of the country, and each one of these languages now has got at least one, if not more than one university to propagate and develop it. But we have not yet reached the stage when we can go over from English to any of these Indian languages, either Hindi or any other, and so we are just in the midst of this transition. We are, on the other hand, trying to bring all available literature which is in the English language, for the benefit of those who know only Indian languages, by means of translation. On the other hand we are encouraging writers in the Indian languages to develop and to make their own contributions to these languages by writing original books. We are of course least fitted for scientific studies yet in our Indian languages because our old language Sanskrit, which is the basis of many of these languages and is the fountain-head on which

all these State or provincial languages are based, did not have scientific literature of the type that we have in the West. Indeed Sanskrit had a rich literature even in scientific subjects of different types but not related to what has grown up in the last three or four hundred years in Europe, and, therefore, we are trying to develop our languages in such a way as to introduce these scientific subjects to our people through the medium of the Indian languages, and naturally it is not only taking time but we are presented with difficulties which we had not anticipated in the beginning. We are hoping that in course of time we shall be able to overcome all these difficulties, and in the not very distant future our languages will be a fit vehicle for the propagation not only of the highest forms of literary art but also for the expression of the highest scientific thoughts of the latest type. That is one problem.

Another problem which worries us is of a somewhat different type. As I have said, the British East India Company introduced English education even before the Crown took over and it had before it two objectives—one objective was, as I have said, a spread of the knowledge of the western type amongst our people, and the other was to prepare a number of people who would be able to help the British administration in the act of administration, and as things developed, this latter became more and more important, and today also we are not able to shift over to our own languages very largely because of the administrative difficulties. The question now is what we should do; and our difficulty has increased recently because the growth of education has been tremendous. While I was a student, say, more than 55 years ago, when I stayed in Bihar, there were only three colleges and now we have got 19 colleges, and that represents only the proportion of the growth of education in the last fifty years. Not only in Bihar, but in almost every state, the number of colleges and institutions has increased to an enormous degree. The problem has arisen that the kind of education which these institutions are imparting does not fit the students for the work in the country today. Scientific education was not given the importance it deserves: and now science students in universities alone can get employment of the kind which people of that type can get. On the other hand all these colleges and institutions are sending out people who get a knowledge of Humanities, who know a little of history, perhaps a little of philosophy and a little of economics; but these are not the things which fit them for the kind of work required to be done in a factory. On the other hand, it unfits them for the work which their parents were doing. The result is that a tremendous problem of unemployment has risen of the educated people. That is one big problem we have. I am not concerned with unemployment in the villages because they do not come under the class of

the educated people in this sense, although many of these institutions are now going to the villages and many of the villages have got high schools. So the problem of the educated unemployed is becoming a very very difficult problem for us and we are trying to solve it.

We have also the other problem of how best we can develop our country's economy and our Government is going to start big industries. We are taking up basic industries to begin with, basic industries like electricity and so forth, so that they create the necessary atmosphere and the necessary field for development of other smaller industries. We are side by side also trying to develop cottage industries because they, even now, in spite of our efforts to advance bigger industries, employ many more persons. At the same time we are trying to get the right type of men for both kinds of work. These are the kind of problems we are facing and I venture to think that your problems may be more or less of a similar kind and you may be trying to solve them in your own way, and perhaps an exchange of views, an exchange of professors, exchange of some sort of seminars to discuss these problems might help both your country and ours in arriving at a conclusion which may be of some help in solving these difficult problems. I have put these thoughts before you and you might in your own way think what is best for your own country.

I do not know what more I can say. I have been very much impressed by one thing in your country. In India we are devoting most of our time and attention and also money, to the development of the kind of education which I have just described. It has no roots in our country or history but it still remains sitting on our chests. We have not got rid of it. But here I find that you have institutions which have been yours and which are related to life, culture and religion. I wish you will try to so develop your things that both the past and the present might fit in with one another. We want modern things. We want to grow, as far as we can, economically, and that can be done only if we can have a good mixture of the old and the new in bringing about a kind of synthesis between what we had in the past and what we can get from the West; and it is by this kind of synthesis that you can make the best of the present and lay a sound foundation for the future.

As I have said, I am very much impressed by the fact that here you are giving importance and also doing as much as you can do keep the old things alive and if possible also to advance them. I wish you all the best to bring about the kind of synthesis that I have indicated: and to you, graduates and young people of the University, I can only say this that you should try to find out this, middle course, the middle course or the course which Buddha preached. The middle course is the course which will enable you to avoid

the extremes, not to depend entirely on the past, not to be led away entirely by the present, but to find the mean which will enable you to combine the best of both and it is on that basis that you can build up a good and reliable and steady future, because the future to be bright and good needs a background which has its roots in our land and that background is being supplied by the other institutions.

I am happy at the honour which this university has done me and the kind words which you have spoken about me, I can only hope that I deserve them.

Synthesis of the Old and the New

I AM HAPPY to be able to pay a visit to this University also which is a centre of the Bhikshuk learning. I note you had started in 1873, at a time when Bhikshuk studies were practically neglected and even Buddhist texts were not easily available in the country. Ever since then, this institution has been doing great service not only in reviving Buddhistic studies, but also in establishing institutions. Some 125 of them are perhaps existing today all over the country spreading knowledge. And now you have also been raised to the status of a University.

It is only in a synthesis of the old and new that the future of all countries, especially countries which have a great and ancient past, can be built upon. It is, therefore, a matter of great pleasure to me to be able to spend however short a time it may be with you in this institution.

We come from a part of the world which, as you have said has had a very deep and abiding connection with this country. I also believe a great part of our population has come and settled down here. So we have not only a religious heritage between ourselves, but we are also, if you will permit me to say so, blood brothers. That is a great and noble heritage and I can only hope that we shall be able to preserve and still more strengthen the ties which ought to bind us and which have so long bound us together.

In the world of today, we have so much of distrust, so much of strain, and so much of friction that we cannot but turn back to the teachings of the Buddha for adopting the way which will enable us to settle these disputes. It was Ashoka who renounced war when he realised its futility and when he saw that it ended in nothing but blood-shed, devastation, distress and misery; that it solved no problem; and that it created more problems than it actually solved. And today we hear this thing repeated from so many

platforms and by so many people in all parts of the world, but we have not yet reached the stage which Ashoka had once reached and we have not been able to renounce war today. That is a misfortune. But the mere fact that we are able to realise that salvation for humanity lies in the renunciation of violence and force, the mere fact that we have begun to think on that line, gives hope for the future, and let me hope that countries which are today in a position to take up arms will, in this matter, be able to show to the world that it is possible to survive even in this age of conflict and competition without resort to arms. It is such countries that will be able to show the way to the rest of the world and by their example, they would be able to influence the lives of people in other countries and to change their outlook also.

In India we have been trying our best to place this ideal before the world, and I know that in this respect your country thinks on the same lines as we do, and acts also on the same lines. That is one great meeting point in our international outlook, and I am sure this outlook will be shared more and more by countries which are not yet within it and as the days go by we shall see not only this idea being accepted, but practically being acted up to.

Neither Ceylon nor India is a fighting nation. Neither Ceylon nor India is in a position today to fight any big Power with arms. When I was in Japan, I knew that it was a nation which had been fully armed, which had tasted power and which had actually experienced not only the horrors of war itself, but had also caused horrors in other countries and I told them that it was a country like theirs which could show the way to the world by declaring itself in favour of disarmament. Of course today Japan is practically disarmed but at the behest of other nations. But I wish Japan will disarm itself consciously and willingly, knowing that they would be taking a risk. It is unnecessary to say anything of that sort here because we have not got the arms. I say this to my own people nowadays that we must be failing in our duty to the world unless we also disarm ourselves to the extent we are armed today although our present arms cannot be compared with the arms of other comparably big nations. But still, to the extent we are armed, we have to take the risk and declare to the world to do its worst against us and we shall be in a position then to claim that we have actually followed Mahatma Gandhi's principles. Today, on account of our history, we have also to face our own weakness and we have not been able to show the way; but there is no reason why some other countries may not show the way and come forward and take the lead in the matter.

All that I can pray for is that you will extend to our people, although we are across a narrow passage of space, the same kindness, the affection, that you show to your own people here. I feel that it is unnecessary,

sometimes harmful even to read history. We can derive much good from reading history, we can draw much inspiration from reading it; but sometimes it does harm also in the sense that some false impressions are drawn from reading it and where it comes to that, it is best that history is forgotten and not studied.

We have in India a tradition which is very often mentioned in our Sanskrit works. There is a bird called *Hamsa* which can easily discriminate between milk and water if the two are mixed together and placed before it, and the bird takes the substance of the milk and leaves the water alone. We have all to become *Hamsas* in that sense when we study history, when we study what is going on around us, when we study our own people and when we study other people; and we have to acquire the capacity of discrimination to choose the best and to leave the worst, to take only what is good and leave out what is bad; and it is only in that sense that all knowledge can be useful and helpful. This is called discrimination; and discrimination has always been taught by all our teachers, and not the least by Buddha himself, because everything depends upon *Gyan* (knowledge).

I would, therefore, suggest that you in this country will exercise good feeling in your dealings with other people, especially those with whom you have a long connection.

I am not, I believe, justified in trespassing upon your patience much longer, but I think I cannot do better than end this by quoting three or four stanzas from *Dhamma Pad*—

He abused me, he struck me, he overcame me, he robbed me: In those who harbour such thoughts hatred will never cease. He abused me, he struck me, he overcame me, he robbed me: In those who do not harbour such thoughts hatred will cease.

This is the eternal law.

How true it is today as it was more than 2500 years ago. May the world realise the truth and act up to it. That should be our prayer.

I have got some books and pictures to present to you. I hope the University will be pleased to accept these.

On Historical and Religious Ties

LET ME BEGIN with a word of thanks for the great honour you have done me by presenting me this address of welcome. Ever since I set my foot on your land five days ago at Colombo, I have been the recipient of kindness all round, and wherever I have gone, I have found smiling faces expressing their joy at my ability to come in contact with them in flesh and blood. I say in flesh and blood because India and Ceylon have been one and inseparable from centuries unknown in spirit and in thought; and if a few miles of sea separate the two countries physically, that does not mean that the spiritual unity, which has been the heritage of both countries from time immemorial, is any the less strong or any the less valuable for that reason.

You have been good enough to refer to the old connection between your country and mine. You have mentioned the name of Ashoka who was undoubtedly one of the greatest warriors who ever ruled any part of the world. He was a great warrior, a great conqueror and a great fighter, but he found the futility of war by experience and as a result of the great massacre which had to be perpetrated for conquering territories, he renounced war and thereafter became a devout exponent of the faith of the Great Buddha. Not only did he spread the faith throughout the length and breadth of India and had the teachings of the Buddha inscribed on pillars and rocks of stone in distant parts of the country and outside in Afghanistan and Central Asia, but he also sent his own dear son and daughter to those lands to carry that faith. Today we have visited Mihintale, near about this place, where Mahendra preached his first sermon. We have in Patna today a place known by the same name Mahendru on the banks of the Ganges, where he is said to have embarked on his long journey in those days and Mahendra and Mahindru still remind us of the great physical connection which was established by Ashoka in his life-time between the India of those days and Ceylon of those days. Ever since then, you have remained under the influence and the teachings of the Buddha, and if I may say so, you have preserved and resuscitated that faith when in some respects we gave up the formal adherence to it and accepted its principles in our life, in our dharma and in our religion: and today, although in India we do not have a systematized, regularized and organized Buddhist church, there is no doubt that Hinduism has accepted the principles which in their origin had emanated in the form of Buddhism, and has accepted Buddha as one of the avatars (reincarnations) of Vishnu.

Reply to the civic reception at Kandy (Ceylon), June 20, 1959.

When I had the honour and privilege of looking into the question of the restoration of the temple at Bodh Gaya, I discovered how deep the attachment of the Hindus was to Lord Buddha, and I found that it was not in narrow sense of exclusiveness that the Hindu Mahant wanted to retain exclusive possession of the temple, but it was in a true spirit of worship and dedication to Buddha and he was zealous now to allow that famous sacred place to be taken away from his custody. Ultimately we found that it was not a reasonable attitude on his part, and the Government and the people have passed legislation whereby the temple is now not in the custody of a Hindu but in the custody of a Committee where both Hindus and Buddhists are represented. And today the Bodh Gaya Temple is as much your own as it is of any Indian who calls himself a Hindu. It is as much the temple of a Buddhist of India as it is a Hindu who is living in Ceylon or in any other part of the world; and thus it is that we have lived for centuries together, sharing the same ideals, working for the same ends, namely emancipation from birth and death; emancipation from sorrow and misery; working for the attainment of that bliss which is unending, inimitable and indescribable and which has no beginning and no end. You work for it in the way suggested by the Buddha: the Hindus have a somewhat different form. But the objective is the same. The paths may be different, but the ideal—the summit to be reached is the same just as in this very city, if you want to get to the summit of the hill, you can reach it from different directions. We in India, the Hindus and I believe the Buddhists also, have always held to the faith that so far as man's opinion or power of thinking is concerned, it should never be controlled or be brought under any kind of regulation, and thus it is that even Buddhism grew out of Hinduism as a protestant form of Hinduism. That is why we have had so many forms of protestant Hinduism which are prevalent in India. Nobody has ever cared or thought of suppressing them, and we shall be untrue, unfaithful to all our religion, heritage and faith if we show anything like intolerance in the matter of faith or in the matter of religion. That has been our great pride and that pride you share equally with us because it is yours as much as it is ours.

And, therefore, it is that when I was asked to come here, I felt I would be undertaking a pilgrimage to a place where a pilgrimage was undertaken by another man from the same place from which I come and who came and established religion here. I have come here to establish the best of relations between your country and mine. Let me assure you that so far as we are concerned, on our side of the ocean, we shall ever be ready to do whatever is required for your benefit and for your good; and let me hope

that you, on your side, will be equally generous and equally helpful, not only in maintaining the best of relations but actually in setting an example for others to follow.

I mentioned earlier the name of Ashoka. Today there is a great re-awakening among the nation of Asia and Africa. They constitute such a large portion of humanity that unless they take to the road which was shown to the world by the Buddha, unless they accept the principle of tolerance which has been the accepted faith of India through the ages, they can become a grave curse for the world if they adopt nationalism in a narrow sense or become fanatical nationalists of their own country, forgetting their duties to the world at large and to humanity. Let me hope that we shall realise in time the value of this tolerance and thus save the world from the great misery to which it may be exposed if intolerance creeps into our life and our action.

I do not know how to thank the people of Ceylon for all the affection and kindness which they have showered upon me ever since I came, and I do not know how to thank you Mr. Mayor and members of the Municipal Council of Kandy for your great kindness in honouring me in this way. I thank you all.

I have got a small present for the Municipal Council. I hope you will be good enough to accept it.

Indo-U.S. Friendship

MAY I ON behalf of the people and the Government of India extend to you a hearty welcome to our country? Our Prime Minister had the privilege of visiting your great country, Mr. President, two years after India achieved independence and then again in 1956. Through all these years it has been the hope of the people of India that the President of the United States of America would be able to visit and honour us with his presence and see for himself the high regard in which the people of India hold the American people. It is for the first time in history that a President of the United States of America is visiting our ancient land and we are indeed happy that you have been able to come.

It has been our pleasure and privilege to have you, Mr. President, amidst us for a little over 24 hours and I may assure you that within this short time you have been able to create an impression the impact of which is going to

Address at the State banquet given in honour of President Dwight D. Eisenhower of U.S.A., New Delhi, December 10, 1959.

be of a far-reaching character in cementing the bonds of friendship that exist between your country and mine.

Between the United States and India, friendly and cordial relations existed even before India gained her independence. No Indian can forget that in the days of our struggle for freedom we received from your country and your people a full measure of sympathy and support.

We have, Mr. President, much in common in our aims and ideals. Like yours ours is a democratic country, a Federation and a Republic. Our two Republics have a common faith in democratic institutions and the democratic way of life and are dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom. We admire the many qualities which have made your country great, and more especially, the humanity and dynamism of your people and the great principles to which the fathers of the American revolution gave utterance. We wish to learn from you and to enlist your co-operation and sympathy in the great task we have undertaken in our own country.

Our struggle for freedom was based on the principles of peace and non-violence and behind us is the centuries old tradition of peaceful living. We believe in the message of peace and freedom, in the right of every man and woman to peace and happiness in life. In international affairs, we have endeavoured to follow these principles. In the United Nations and in other international forums, whenever freedom has been menaced or justice threatened, we have raised our voice in the defence of these sacred principles, principles which are enshrined in the consciousness of our nation as they are in the hearts of the American people. We believe that the interest of mankind lies in not resorting to war and bloodshed to settle differences. Indeed, today, when distance between country and country has almost been eliminated, security could only lie in a warless world.

We are happy that you, Mr. President, whose humanity and whose distinguished and devoted service to the cause of peace have won for you a unique place among the statesmen of the world, and the leaders of other great and powerful nations have been meeting and will be meeting soon in an endeavour to end the cold war and to achieve world co-operation. So that the tremendous advances in science and technology could be directed towards the economic and social progress of the people all the world over. For us, as indeed for all others, it is imperative that world peace should be assured; that there should be no more wars, great or small. It is gratifying, therefore, to discern indications that the great nations and their statesmen are applying their minds and bending their energies in the direction of discovering means and creating conditions for lessening tension and, in due course, eliminating war. You, Mr. President, are making your own invaluable

contribution to it and it will be a happy consummation when we could all sing in joy that "peace hath her victories no less glorious than war".

We in India are engaged in an economic revolution of vast dimensions. This is a stupendous task which because of our arrested growth, demands that we catch up more rapidly with the advanced nations in an effort to raise the standards of living of our people. We value the co-operation and assistance we have received from the American people. We greatly appreciate the friendship and goodwill which your great country has always extended to us. These have strengthened the invisible yet unbreakable bonds of understanding between your people and ours.

I thank you again, Mr. President, for having found the time to come to our country. I earnestly hope that you will see glimpses of the changing face of India. I feel confident that your visit will enrich further the deep friendship between our two countries. May I ask you to take back with you a message of affection, friendship and goodwill from the people of India to the people of the United States of America?

A Friendship Meeting

I AM VERY grateful to the citizens of Moscow, to the workers as well as to the intelligentsia, for having organised this meeting on the occasion of my visit to the Soviet Union. This striking manifestation of friendship towards my country and my people has touched me deeply. I shall not fail to convey your affectionate sentiments to my people when I return to India next week.

This meeting forms the climax of many demonstrations of friendship which I have witnessed wherever I went, from magnificent Leningrad in the North to sunny Sochi in the South. Wherever I went I found the people happy, hard-working, devoted to peace, inquisitive about India and enthusiastic about Indo-Soviet friendship.

You have rightly called this gathering the Friendship Meeting between the U.S.S.R. and India. Yet, 20 years ago—why, even 15 years ago—such a meeting would have been inconceivable. Then our two countries were almost strangers. Physically, the Himalayas were an insuperable obstacle. Politically, we had no relations with each other. Culturally, there were few contacts between us. And ideologically, we had gross misunderstanding about each other.

Yet, even during this period, our peoples had a certain attraction for each other. Though our knowledge of the Revolution of 1917 was limited,

we felt that it was a mighty event which was bound to affect the course of humanity. In the same year, 1917, there appeared in India a great man who transformed the movement of freedom in India from the concern of a few politically-minded persons, to an upsurge of the masses. I need hardly say I am referring to the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. In his bitter and protracted struggle against arrogant racial domination in South Africa, Gandhiji had already forged those weapons of *Satyagraha* or soul force, and non-violent non-co-operation weapons with which India eventually won independence. It is pleasant to recall that in formulating his philosophy and planning out his campaign, Gandhiji was deeply influenced by a kindred spirit in Russia, Leo Tolstoy who, too, deeply felt the inequity of racial and political domination in various parts of the world.

I have just said that there was not much contact between India and Russia before our country attained independence. Yet, the few contacts that there were, were invaluable. Jawaharlal Nehru was present at the 10th Anniversary of the October Revolution and, on his return to India, he wrote a series of articles about his impressions of Russia which opened our people's eyes to the historic happening here. Rabindranath Tagore, too, visited Russia and was most warmly received. I am happy to learn that the centenary of the birth of Tagore is going to be worthily celebrated in the Soviet Union in 1961 and that, one of Tagore's plays, "Chitra", has just been produced as a ballet in Kubyshev. I understand that other Indian ballets and plays are under production in Moscow.

One of the first acts of the Government of India, after the attainment of independence, was to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. During the first few years, however, the relations between our two countries were somewhat passive. But during the last six or seven years, there has been a great blossoming of Indo-Soviet friendship. This was a natural development and was bound to come about, Yet, if any two events accelerated this process, they were the visit of Jawaharlal Nehru to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1955 and of Mr. Khrushchev to India a few months later. Apart from the personal contacts, which were thus firmly established, these visits resulted in the deepening of the understanding and appreciation of each other's policies. The 20th Congress, which was held soon after these visits, declared that the peaceful co-existence of nations, following different social and political systems was the first kernel of the Soviet policy. This historic declaration removed any misunderstandings that might have still lingered in people's minds. A few days ago, I noted with special pleasure, Mr. Khrushchev's recent reaffirmation to this policy despite the dire events in the month of May.

On the foundation thus carefully laid down by our leaders, a fine super-structure of Indo-Soviet collaboration is growing up. I need only mention a few names—the Bhilai Metallurgical Plant, the Suratgarh State Farm, the Cambay Oil Project, the Barauni Oil Refinery and the Ranchi Machine Building Plant—in order to show how beneficent and comprehensive this collaboration has been. I have no doubt that the Third Five Year Plan, which eclipses its predecessors in range and magnitude, will provide far greater opportunities for our two countries to co-operate with each other in the great task of nation-building.

In building up our nation, we are also building up peace. To all sceptics and cynics to the Right and to the Left, the U.S.S.R. and India have shown that two great countries, following different traditions and holding different philosophy, can freely and happily co-operate, not only in promoting the people's welfare, but in promoting peace. May this friendship between India and the Soviet Union, which is as immovable as the Himalayas and yet has overcome even the Himalayas, in their determination to get closer to each other, remain forever as a beacon to the policy of not merely peaceful but fruitful co-existence. Let me conclude these remarks by echoing the cry which I heard wherever I went in the Soviet Union, "Long Live Peace throughout the World".

Universities and World Peace

I AM GRATEFUL to the authorities of the Moscow University for their kindness in not only extending an invitation to me but also in conferring on me a Doctorate. I accept this honour with thanks.

The name and fame of the Moscow University have spread far and wide, and it is well known that in cultural and scientific matters, very important work has been carried on here. I am, therefore, naturally glad that it has been possible for me to pay a visit and acquire information about your working, and also to make personal acquaintance with you all.

During my tour, the people of the Soviet Union and its leaders have everywhere shown warmth of feeling and friendly appreciation not only, of me personally, but also of my country. At Leningrad I had an opportunity of meeting some of the learned workers at the Oriental Research Institute, and I could also see how study and translation of researches into ancient and modern Indian literature have been going on. And today I have not only got personal acquaintance with the teachers and researchers of this

University and gained an idea of its working, but you have also extended to me your welcome and conferred on me the Degree of a Doctorate. I am very thankful for it, and I accept this Degree with due respect and appreciation. I do not regard it as an honour only to me personally, but as a sign of goodwill of the Soviet people towards the people of my country. My heart is, therefore, full.

In my country, the acquisition of knowledge has always been regarded as the highest and most desirable objective for man. In our books acquisition of knowledge has been described as the greatest ideal of life. I believe that the usefulness of a university consists in the acquisition and propagation of knowledge. This knowledge has been divided into two categories—one category relates to all knowledge relating to external thing; the other relates to the knowledge of one's own self which is called self-knowledge. In other words, we have divided knowledge into material and spiritual. The physical science has, in modern times, reached such height, depth and width, the very conception of which was not possible to man some time ago. The greatest step that has been recently taken is that man has acquired such knowledge about space. It has become possible to think that relation between this earth and the planets and other bodies in space will become widened and that—sooner or later, physical communication and movement of man between them will become as easy and common as it is between two places on earth today. What was at one time only in the imagination and thought of man has now become a reality and man, with the help of instruments which he himself has invented, is able, in spite of the limited power of his senses, to acquire practical knowledge of such things. The scientists, technicians and other learned men of your country have already acquired world-wide fame.

The other category of knowledge, on which my country has always laid stress, has relation to man's knowledge of himself. I do not wish to enter into a controversy whether what is considered as the spiritual aspect of man is determined by physical causes or not. I want only to say this, that whatever may be the cause of such spiritual forces and in whatever way they may be created, they have got their place and they influence man. Man carries on his life's work and tries to make himself happy with the help of all the forces at his command, whether they are derived from his surroundings or they arise from within. In my humble opinion the time has arrived when man should realise that it is not by his conquest of nature and the objects created thereby that he can make himself happy or acquire security. It is necessary and essential that he should acquire control over himself so that he may learn not only how to use these powers for adding to his prosperity and happiness, but also acquire the strength which will not

only enable him to regard their use as harmful and unforgivable: Rather he should acquire internal strength to end for ever their misuse. I think it will not be inappropriate to say that the good of man lies in a synthesis of physical and spiritual forces. I do hope and believe that physical might guided and controlled by spiritual power, will take mankind on the right direction. It is necessary to establish a synthesis so that man may claim it as an achievement and also he may remain alive. If it was necessary at any time to adopt these in man's life, it has become inevitable for him now to adopt it.

Universities can spread true knowledge of this axiomatic truth and in this way the learned can contribute to the establishment of peace. The Universities, by propagating this idea, can support and render help to the admirable efforts which your leaders have been making for disarmament and establishment of peace. It is my earnest hope and wish that the Moscow University, which is so determined and devoted to the acquisition and spread of knowledge, will give additional strength to the leaders of the Soviet Union.

I wish to thank you once again for the honour you have done me. It is my earnest hope that the very friendly relations which have been established between your and my country will go on gaining strength from day to day, so that we may both continue to work in the interests of world peace. May we be able to demonstrate in a practical way that Russia and Hindi are Bhai Bhai.

An Abiding Relationship

MAY I, ON behalf of the Government and people of India and on my own behalf extend to Your Majesty and Your Royal Highness a most cordial welcome to our country. Almost to a day, two years ago, Your Royal Highness paid India a visit; and now, on this auspicious day of Basant Panchami, the traditional harbinger of Spring, it is our pleasure and privilege to welcome Your Majesty with warmth and cordiality, as the monarch of a great nation and the Head of the Commonwealth.

This is not, of course, the first time that a ruler of the United Kingdom has visited this country. Exactly fifty years ago, your grandfather came to Delhi. But the circumstances were then very different. We are mindful of the fact that it was during the reign of your well loved father that we attained independence; and I am sure that I am not alone in voicing the opinion that we have been looking forward to the day when we should

Speech at the Banquet given in honour of Her Majesty, the Queen Elizabeth of England, New Delhi, January 21, 1960.

receive you as the honoured and welcome guest of the Government and people of this country.

The events of 1947 changed the whole aspect of the relations between our two countries; and the Indian people, as much as the British, elected to keep alive only the pleasant memories of their long association. This happy result has been achieved on the one hand by the timely action of the British in parting with power effectively and gracefully and, on the other, by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, the philosopher and leader who guided us to this new destiny, the destiny of peaceful relations, relations of friendship rather than strife, with those who had ruled over us. And this became possible no one can doubt, because there was no strife in his heart, there was no ill-will and no rancour, not even when he was leading us in the struggle for Independence, for long years before 1947. To his name and to his memory, I wish to pay homage once again today.

Our relations with the United Kingdom are part of our own history of the last two hundred years; and the British impact on India has been in many ways an abiding one. But, thanks mainly to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who taught us that nationalism should never acquire an exclusive character, we have also sought to strengthen the finer aspects of our relations. English language and literature play a prominent part in our lives, and the whole English tradition colours and conditions some of our ways of thought. The influence of British jurisprudence can still be traced in our law. Above all, we have sought to develop the British methods of policies and government, adapting them to our own context. I can confidently assure Your Majesty that in many ways you will feel at home during your sojourn in our country.

Perhaps the most striking result of the goodwill with which the transfer of power was effected in 1947 is the fact that the institution of the Commonwealth has been so developed that both our countries without any limitations on their sovereignty, can continue to be members. It is as a multi-racial association for consultation on matters of common interest that the Commonwealth has served not only to strengthen relations between its members but also, if I may venture to say so, provided an example to the world. It is, perhaps, the most suitable and effective organisational expression of the world's interdependence that exists today. It places no trammels on its members, but fosters an intimacy beyond the formal communications of diplomacy. We do not all of us have the same viewpoint and we need not minimise the differences. But the very fact that they are expressed in friendly and informal discussions is, in this loud and raucous world of today, a matter for satisfaction; and the association itself, based as it is on equality, tends to mutual advantage and benefit.

During your stay in our country, Your Majesty will have an opportunity of seeing something of our ancient past, as well as of our present adventure of building a prosperous India. This is a gigantic task, and we appreciate the generous help in various fields given to us by the Government and people of the United Kingdom and the other members of the Commonwealth, of which you are the Head. Particularly do we appreciate the assistance in science and technology given to us by the United Kingdom, who is in this field one of the leaders of the world. Your Majesty will, among other places of interest, be visiting Durgapur, where the great steel plant is a joint effort of Indo-British co-operation and a striking symbol of our continuous and close association.

I feel confident that the present visit of Your Majesty will further strengthen and enrich the friendship between India and the United Kingdom. I assure Your Majesty of the friendship of the Indian people for the people of the United Kingdom, and their heart-felt good wishes to you for long, happy and peaceful years in the exalted position you occupy.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking to the health of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, Head of the Commonwealth, and that of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Advice to Future Administrators

IT IS INDEED a good opportunity that you get here during your training to learn things and acquaint yourself with administrative problems. I have been meeting the I.A.S. probationers year after year when they call at Rashtrapati Bhavan. I am pleased this year to see you at your school, though I shall still be looking forward to your coming and meeting me at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

You are, I am sure, aware that times have changed considerably and with that the conditions and requirements of service have also changed. In British days the foremost task of the civilians was the maintenance of law and order in the country, which in other words meant working in a manner that ensured the security of the British Empire. Last of all came, almost as a secondary duty, service of the people entrusted to their charge. After independence this order of duties has been reversed. The foremost duty of our civilians now is the service of the people. Maintenance of law and order comes only as a secondary duty, if and when the occasion arises. I hope for this purpose you will have to use your powers only occasionally. In view of this change, the requirements of training have also changed. Our officers have now to develop a different mental attitude and a different approach for grappling with the problems they are likely to face in their day-to-day work.

Our civilian officers' work in the past was not as variegated as it is today. You will now be required to tackle a variety of tasks. For all these you have to get adequate training here. While you will no doubt equip yourself for discharging your duties in the various fields, you must remember that the principal objective is to make the people under you happier, to improve their lot as far as possible, and to ensure that they are better looked after.

When you take over your duties after finishing your training and the period of probation, you might like to specialise in some aspects of your administrative work. It is not only possible but probable that while not neglecting anyone of your duties you may be particularly drawn towards certain problems for which you have a special aptitude. It will be worthwhile

for you and also for the country if you specialise in those problems. This specialised knowledge may stand you and the Government in good stead at a later period.

I would advise you to cultivate some useful hobby, a hobby which may provide you the right kind of recreation and which may also prove to be beneficial to the people at large. In this connection, may I remind you of the civil servants of olden days whose hobbies have left for us works of monumental importance on various subjects? Besides doing their administrative work, these civilians found ample time in their spare hours to devote themselves to a specialised study of the classics or history or literature. Among civil servants we have had scholars like R. C. Dutt who, apart from writing on many historical and economic subjects, found time to translate in English verse portions of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, Vincent Smith whose books on history are still studied in Indian schools and colleges, Sir William Hunter who was also an eminent historian and Grierson who specialised in the study of Indian languages and is even today looked upon as an authority on linguistics. There have been many other civilians, besides these, who specialised in certain branches of literature or economic or social problems and have left behind monumental works for the country's benefit. I would advise you to follow their example and choose for yourself a hobby for which you find yourself best equipped. There is plenty of material available in India and you are not only academically well-qualified but are also having a comprehensive training here. All these should enable you to make your choice. Hobbies will not only give you great pleasure and joy but also open new avenues for you.

You know that all administrative jobs are now filled exclusively by Indians and all of you can legitimately aspire for the highest position in official life. There are no racial, provincial or linguistic bars of any kind and equal opportunity is assured to every civilian. These improved conditions of work ensure for you better opportunities not only for serving the people but also for making the best use of your talents.

In a country like India whose Constitution follows in a large measure the British model, the permanent services play a great part in the administration of the country. Ministers may come and go, but services remain to carry on the administration. It is the permanent services which can guarantee the continuity of the pattern of administration and the implementation of national policies. Though the policies are framed by Ministers, they have naturally to be guided by data supplied by you. You have to prepare, collect and supply the material on the basis of which alone Ministers can formulate a policy, and once a policy is formulated its

implementation is the responsibility of the civilians. Your work must necessarily count a great deal before policies are formulated and again when the question of implementing them arises. Therefore, it can be said that your responsibilities have greatly increased.

I am very glad to have got this opportunity of addressing you today. I hope whatever I have told you will not be taken amiss. I have said it with the intention of helping you in your training and future work.

Freedom of the Individual

I HAVE BEEN looking forward to this day for some time, because I attach importance to a Conference like this. I desire to thank you for the honour which you have done me by asking me to inaugurate it. Its importance becomes apparent when we realise that it is for the first time that this Conference is meeting in an Asian country. Further, we know that it is being attended by representatives from nearly fifty countries and there are about a hundred delegates meeting here.

We all belong to the Commonwealth, and we are held together, not by any coercive apparatus, but by the free will of all the component parts. And this Conference, by the way in which it conducts its proceedings, and the methods and the procedure which it follows, shows the way in which, if the world were to fashion its own affairs, we would be in a much happier world than the one we are in today.

Naturally, all the Parliaments and legislatures which are functioning in the various countries in the Commonwealth have a common background and a common history, and they are derived from the British Parliament and the British Constitution. Although there are very important and significant differences between the Constitutions of these countries, there is no doubt that the underlying basic principle of democracy, which stands for freedom of the individual is the same in all, and that is only natural because we have all derived from the British Parliament, and we still continue to derive inspiration from its proceedings, from its history, from its traditions and from its doings.

If an outsider were to attend a meeting of our Parliament here, he would see to what extent our hon'ble Speaker, and the hon'ble Chairman of the Rajya Sabha draw upon the precedents and experience of the British Parliament. I feel that it would be a bad day for us and for others too, if

anything were to happen which would in any way weaken the bond which subsists between the different countries of the Commonwealth.

That bond, as I have said, is not based on force. It is a silken bond which is invisible, but nonetheless strong. It is capable of standing strains and stresses, of standing jerks which have now and then come, and it has been able to stand those jerks, strains and stresses, and I shall hope that it will continue to be like this.

The value of conferences like this and of a Parliamentary association of the various countries within the Commonwealth consists in the opportunity, which it offers to individual Members of Parliament to gain information, to exchange experiences and also to get facilities for visiting different countries and acquainting themselves first-hand with the methods and procedure followed in those Parliaments.

I believe there is much that the younger Parliaments particularly can learn from these conferences, and I am also vain enough to think that perhaps even the older Parliament might also derive some benefit by studying what is being done in the younger Parliaments of the Commonwealth. There should be, as has been pointed out, a sort of cross-fertilisation of ideas between the older and the younger Parliaments, and I am hoping that this Conference will be fruitful of such results.

We have a democracy which is, in one sense, a young democracy and, in another sense, an old democracy. It is young in the sense that, we have adopted the present form of democracy which is prevalent in the western countries and we have had a short experience of a sovereign Parliament of less than ten years up to now. We have an old democracy because the fundamental principle of democracy, namely, the freedom of the individual, and the recognition of that freedom by everybody else is as old as the hills and the rivers of India.

We have a tradition, which goes back to millenniums, of complete tolerance of opinions, of complete tolerance of differences in outlook, of complete tolerance even of practices, and that is why we in this country have been able to stand the buffets of history from time to time, the always unbearable strains which we have had to bear during these thousands of years. And if I may claim something for our old traditions, it is this, that although we have had a most chequered history—perhaps the most chequered history that any civilised country in world has had—yet we have survived all these buffets, all these revolutions. And while Kings and Emperors have come and gone, while empires have risen and fallen, while religions have changed and shifted, we have

survived all these and India even today can claim that she has an individuality of her own which she has preserved for centuries.

It is because we are both young and old that we may be able to contribute something to your discussions. Within these ten years I see a young democracy following the democratic method and principle followed in European countries. We have had two general elections with an electorate which in round numbers consisted of 200 million men and women, of whom nearly 100 million actually participated in the voting at these elections. They voted for nearly 4,000 representatives to represent them in the Union Parliament and in the State Legislatures and other similar bodies.

We can claim this at any rate—even if we do not claim it, this has been the encomium showered on us—that we have managed to hold these elections without disturbance, without coercion in a free atmosphere. What we are going to do and what we are able to do, it is difficult to say at this stage, because our experience is not enough to enable us to arrive at any judgment of our own, much less perhaps to enable you, who do not know us so well, to arrive at any correct judgment.

The fundamental basis, as I have said, of all democracy is individual freedom, and the problem which has always been before humanity is to reconcile this individual interest with the interest of the society as a whole. In the west, the form which this reconciliation has taken in the form of a representative government where not the individual voter but his representative votes and runs the government and the administration.

There was a time in past history when every voter practically voted on particular measures and particular policies which the Government was going to adopt. That time is no more; perhaps it is not possible either. Arising out of that, the representative government has been considered to be the best in the circumstances. To run the administration in that representative government, it becomes necessary to have also parties. The British system provides for such parties which exchange places from time to time and run the administration.

Here in this country, we have had one advantage. Ever since we got power, we have had in an over-whelming measure the support of the country for the government which belongs really to one party. It has been a good and great thing in the formative years of our freedom. It has been a good thing because it had enabled a stable government to function while we were engaged in very many difficult tasks following the birth of our freedom.

While it has been a good thing—this stable government, this over-whelming support to one party—it has deprived us of one advantage also. It has deprived us of that variety of experience which we would have got if

there had been change of government. We are not in a position today to see how we shall act and how we shall behave if there is a change in our government. So, while it has been good in one way, it has its disadvantage also in another way.

But there is another, and more fundamental, question. The system of voting which prevails and under which the representatives are elected, is not always the best, nor, even if the system is good, is the exercise of the right always done in the best way. Very often it may happen—probably it does happen in other countries—that while the administration is being run by a party which has got a majority of seats in the Parliament and, therefore, it can function, it has got a minority of votes in the country as a whole. That experience has been gained in other countries and we do not know whether we may also have that kind of experience in this country in future.

As a matter of fact, I have seen it stated that in some constituencies at least, the Member does not represent the majority of the voters, but he is there because there was a contest and there was a multiplicity of parties amongst the candidates, people belonging to various parties, and the votes became divided and so one party succeeded as against the others. That is perhaps on a small scale at present but that is a thing which may be repeated on a very much larger scale in future. I do not know how we shall take that combined with the change of Government in the future. This thing happens in other countries which have had a longer experience of parliamentary institutions. They know it; they understand it and they can put up with it. I do not know how we shall behave if it comes to happen here in this country. It is, therefore, necessary not to be satisfied with the system which we have got, but to be also thinking of something better if it is possible, something which will really represent, the voter, in which the Government really represents the electors, in which every member feels that he has a right, a hand to the administration of the country.

It very often happens that the opinion represented by a representative is not the opinion of a single voter of his constituency. It may not be the opinion of the majority; it is not also the opinion of a single voter. The same thing happens in Parliament also. When a Member votes under party whip, he does not necessarily accept the opinion for which he votes, as his own, which he thinks best in the interest of the country as a whole. Is there any way of reconciling this conflict between individual opinion of Members and the opinion of the voters represented in a representative assembly? I do not know. There were days when every voter had a hand in running the administration. Those days are gone; they are past; they cannot be called back. But perhaps we might draw some conclusions or at any rate, if not

conclusions, we might get a line for investigation if you thought of the village communities in India. It was these village communities which represented practically a republic in each village which enabled the country as a whole to maintain its integrity and its identity in spite of the political revolutions, in spite of the difficulties which it had to face from outsiders, from invaders, from conquerors and from those who came and settled down here for some reason or the other.

Here in this country we are now giving some sort of a trial by reviving our panchayats, that is to say, our village associations which will represent the village, and although we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that we are trying to revive these panchayats, I am not sure if we have a clear conception of what these panchayats are expected to do or what they are expected to achieve. I would suggest that this could be a fruitful line for investigation if these panchayats could not be entrusted with more and more power so that in the village itself much of what is needed is done by the people there and the Central Government governs less and less until it becomes the best Government, least governing. This idea sometimes strikes me and I feel that in this Conference when you will be discussing one item on the agenda which relates to parties, perhaps your thought might go in this direction and you may consider how and to what extent the reconciliation which is needed between the individual opinion and the collective opinion can be made possible or realised in this method.

As you are going to discuss a number of very important subjects dealing with the Commonwealth, I desire to say this that in this Commonwealth we have got decentralisation which is expanding more and more. From the government by the British Parliament of distant parts of the world, we have come to a stage when these distant parts have become independent and autonomous and perhaps these distant-parts, in their own affairs, are delegating more and more power to their subordinate bodies, to their subordinate organisations and therefore, the seeds of decentralisation which also can satisfy the needs of an integrated and co-ordinated movement of freedom for every individual might be secure.

Today, we need this individual freedom and this concept of individual freedom is to be realised more than ever before because we stand on cross-roads of history. While on the one hand the power of the State is increasing and enveloping the individual more and more, I think we are also thinking of raising the standard of living of the individual and that standard includes not only his material requirements but also his mental, moral and spiritual needs. We have to consider to what extent these moral and spiritual needs can be satisfied so long as there is that emphasis on raising the

standard of material living, neglecting other things in life. I hope and trust that your discussions will be fruitful and you will be able to draw inspiration from one another's experience and we in this country will profit by your discussions.

With these words, I desire to extend to you all a hearty welcome once again and to inaugurate this Conference.

Indian Law Institute

I AM VERY happy to be with you this afternoon to be able to participate in the inauguration of the Indian Law Institute.

You have pointed out to us the aims and objects with which this Institute has been established. In a country where we have decided to have a welfare State, legislation on many subjects is an absolute necessity and when we think of the various problems which confront us and of the ways in which many of these problems will have to be solved, when we think of the leading part which law still plays in many of them, the necessity of an institute which will devote itself to the cultivation of law in a scientific spirit, to its study, to a comparative study of the various branches and aspects of law and also with a view to suggesting reforms not only in the body of the law but also in the procedure and in the administration of it, we can realise the importance of an institute like this. It is necessary that there should be a body which works quietly in an atmosphere which is free from the din of courts and also away from the controversy of the legislature, where attention is paid to the various implications of a particular kind of legislation and where legislation which has already been adopted is studied for the objects it has achieved and for the way in which it has been worked. This can be done by an institute like this.

A tremendous amount of legislative activity has been going on in this country since we attained independence.

From January 1, 1953 till the November 30, 1957, more than 350 bills were passed by Parliament, and in four Years, 1953, 54, 55 and 56 no less than 2,557 bills were passed by the State Legislatures. Of these more than 2,500 bills, 1,114 came up to the President for his consideration and assent. And of these 1,114, as many as 275 dealt only with land laws. So you can understand the amount of legislative activity which has been going on. Now one of the fundamental principles of law which I learnt as a young man

was that everybody is supposed to know the law so that if anyone did anything which goes against law, he could not plead ignorance as a defence. But when we have such a plethora of legislation, I doubt that even judges are able to keep pace with the laws which are passed from day to day, and which are probably turned out as quickly as any press can print them.

Under these circumstances it becomes necessary for a body like yours to keep pace with the law, to study its implications and from time to time to draw attention also of the people, specially of the Governments to any shortcomings that there may be and any good points they may come across in them. It is only in this way that we can really keep on the right path.

As I have said, in a welfare State we have to pass laws on many subjects. But more laws mean two things. More laws on the one hand mean more restriction on the liberty of the individual. We can probably be in a position to so arrange and administer that it may not prove as big a burden as it has done so far. But so far as restriction on the freedom of the individual is concerned, we have to consider it from a different aspect altogether. While on the one side we recognise that the greatest amount of freedom should be assured to the individual, on the other side we also have to recognise that in a welfare State the individual's liberty to deal with himself and to deal with others has to be restricted more and more. The best Government has to find out the best means by which these two more or less conflicting ideas can be reconciled. The middle course has to be found and in finding that middle course an institute like this which works, as I said, outside the din of courts and beyond the controversy of legislatures, can be of immense help. It is from this point of view that I have welcomed the foundation of an institute like this which will, I have no doubt, serve a great purpose if it does its work well, successfully and efficiently. I have no reason to think that it will not do its work efficiently.

With the auspices under which it has been started, with the membership which it has been able to secure and with the support which it has got, it should be able to do its work well and I can only hope that in course of time you will gather more and more influence and would be able to make real and genuine contribution to the solution of many problems which will face us, because after all a comparative study of law is of value, comparative study not only of law as it exists today but a comparative study of different systems of law in different countries of the world.

Now, here we have to remember that in this country we have a tradition which is perhaps more or less like the tradition of England. There they have the common law which was not a codified law and it has taken centuries to petrify. Here in this country law was laid down and there was complete

freedom for local prejudices, if you like to call them so, local conditions to influence the law as it was actually applied, and so customary law in India has a place and is as strong as any law which may be passed by the legislature. We have recently undertaken to codify some of these customary laws also. I call all these laws customary laws because they are more or less of that type although may have had their origin in some kind of a code laid down by Manu or Yagyavalkya. Now all these laws have had this advantage that with the passage of time they have introduced revolutionary changes. The text has remained the same, but the various schools which have grown up and the interpretation which has been put upon them, have done the same kind of thing that the American courts have done to the American Constitution. In short, the Constitution within the last, say, 175 years has undergone tremendous changes, not by changes and actual amendments of the Constitution, but by the interpretation put upon the few sections of the Constitution, and that is the kind of amendment which our customary law has been undergoing, and I sometimes wonder if by codifying them, we are not really helping to petrify them; we are closing the door against social changes which may be coming. If these laws are left free, they will adjust themselves according as society needs them to be adjusted, but if they are codified, they will have to be amended only by legislative enactment and I do not know if we are really wise in putting all our laws into the strait jackets of codes. I am not suggesting that this is wrong or right, I am only pointing out to you a subject for study and for investigation.

Similarly, there may be other subjects which will come up to you. In this connection these unmodified laws have also undergone a great deal of change by interpretation in courts and we have got a series of law reports which have come down from the very beginning of the British rule in India, and now with the codification many of these decisions are either obsolete or are probably misleading. One of the things that may be considered is how far these outdated and outmoded decisions of courts which have been superseded by legislation now, should be allowed to remain in the Law Reports and thus confuse the ordinary man. If by some kind of legislation or by some means you could eliminate them, then the courts will have to fall back upon the words of the codes. They will not have to dive into the interpretations of these laws, interpretations which have varied from time to time. This is another aspect which you might consider.

Then with regard to the study of law, as has been pointed out by the Chief Justice, We have got our universities each of which has, I believe, a faculty of law where law is taught. A degree in law is a *sine qua non* for a man to be able to practise in a law court. All that is there. But I do not know if the standards are the same or if they differ widely from one another.

Possibly that might also interest you that, as in the case of medical practitioners, they have got some kind of association which to some extent controls and regulates the standard of teaching and qualification for admission to the medical profession, perhaps you might also advise the governments and the universities to have some kind of a standard which will be prevalent all over the country.

You have said that you have a claim upon me because I was once a lawyer. Well, I admit that claim, but I do not think I deserve to be anything like a patron of an institution like this because in your own language I have long ceased to be a lawyer and I am time-barred. If I can be of any service to you, I shall of course be always at your command.

With these words, I desire to inaugurate this Institute.

A Unique Institution

WHEN GENERAL SRINAGESH extended to me the invitation to visit this institution I welcomed the idea of taking this opportunity and acquainting myself with this institution. That is because, I considered this institution to be a unique institution of its kind not only in this country, but one of the very few in the whole world. It is unique in several respects. As you call this institution a college, I hope I am not committing any impropriety in calling its members students. It is in this, that it has got a unique set of students. It is not an institution for training recruits. If I may say so, it is an institution for further training those who have already been trained, trained not only in an institution, but gained actual experience of administration in their respective spheres. The training that they receive here is not the original or the preliminary training which a recruit gets, but it consists in exchange of experiences, in pooling of knowledge, and in gaining such personal knowledge by further study as can be acquired by the use of your well-equipped library. And the method that you pursue is not that of giving lectures, which is the method pursued in other educational institutions.

The method that you pursue is unique in the sense that it expects all those who come here as students to sit together in small groups called syndicates, and to discuss the various problems which may arise from different aspects and from different points of view, and in that way they not only increase their own respective knowledge, because everyone is not expected or supposed to have the knowledge which everyone else has. Everyone has been working in his own way in his own institution or in his

own organisation and everyone has got his own peculiar experience. All this experience is not only pooled together, but also discussed so that all angularities may be ironed out and further light may be thrown with regard to the solution of problems, which are expected to face them when they take up higher posts as they are expected to do. It is on account of this uniqueness that this institution has been hailed as a great institution, although it is not great in the sense that it has a large number of professors or a large number of students in it. There is no doubt that the experience which you gain here will be of immense help when you go back to your respective offices and you will be able to bring to bear on the work that lies before you, the experience of others which you have gathered in the course of your stay here and in the discussions which you have had with them.

I have been looking at the curriculum and I find that you have a very comprehensive curriculum which covers practically all aspects of administration, whether in business, in government offices or even in a specialised department like the Defence Department. The experience which each one brings is thus compared and collated with the experience of others, and, as I have said, it will help you when you go back in solving the problems which will face you there. Undoubtedly, the number in the college is small and it could not be larger. The course is only of three months but within that period you get enough opportunity because you all live together and practically the whole of your time is spent in the way you are expected to spend the time, in studying and in exchange of views. The number is so small that for the time being it may seem that you are too few to be able to make any impression in your own big offices when you go back. But I do not think so. My own feeling and hope is that you will act like a leaven in your own office. Like a catalytic agent you will serve to create in others the same kind of ambition that you have and what is more, the ability to fulfill that ambition. Others will get opportunity in later time to come and have the advantage of their stay here. But in order that you may be able to do that, you have to acquire not only more knowledge, more experience, but something more and that I consider to be more valuable than anything else that you can acquire in life.

As a school boy, I remember to have learnt in a textbook that honesty was the best policy. I think it is a good maxim so far as it goes, but I believe, honesty loses some of its value when it becomes a policy. Apart from its being a profitable or beneficial business, honesty has a value of its own; and in this age, particularly in this country, when we are engaged in the tremendous enterprise of building up a new nation, we require integrity and honesty more than anything else. It is not unusual to hear complaints that there has been a deterioration and we sometimes try to excuse ourselves

by saying that it is one of the aftermaths of that last big war. We sometimes excuse ourselves also by saying we cannot help if the people are like that and we are not above the people; we are one of them. What is wanted is that persons who will be placed in responsible positions that you hold and still more and higher responsible positions which you are expected to hold, you are expected to act with integrity and with honesty which is not only dictated by expediency or by even being a profitable beneficial investment, but which is valuable for its own sake. It is only in that way that you will be able to raise the moral standard of all those who come in contact with you and amongst whom it will be your lot to work.

It is in that sense that I expect that you will go and work amongst them as a leaven which will make them better, more helpful and also more resourceful without being in any sense anything but honest to solve the various problems which will come up before you. We have different kinds of problems facing the different departments from which you come—administrators have their own problems, businessmen have theirs, and even in government offices we have got different departments dealing with different aspects of business and each one has its own problems.

All these problems require not only high mental equipment, high calibre intellectually, but also a kind of integrity which rises above all other considerations and which enables the holder of high position to exercise an influence on others which may not always be visible but which is nonetheless felt and felt to a degree which is not easily understandable. I am hoping that in this institution, you will be acquiring that also along with the other experience that you will have. We have reports almost every day in the papers about a strike in this factory or that factory. Sometimes we hear of strikes even in government departments.

We hear of demands raised by all classes of people for fulfilment of their own requirements. What is needed is an adjustment of all the conflicting claims, and the conflicting ideas, and for arriving at a just and fair deal, you require nothing more than a high standard of integrity. It is for this reason that I have felt that although it might not be one of the items expressly mentioned in your curriculum, as it could not be, it is one of the things to which I could profitably draw your attention, so that not only here in your discussions but also in life, when you go back to your respective posts, you will be able to hold up a high standard for others to follow.

I am happy, therefore, to be here with you even though for a short time to acquire a first-hand knowledge of this institution, and to make acquaintance with at any rate one batch of you who are present here today. I am glad I have noted some known faces and of course I have known

your Principal, General Srinagesh, for many years, and I am happy that this institution has been started under such high auspices. I am sure it will serve the great purpose with which it was started.

On Independence of Judiciary

IT IS A matter of gratification to me that I am able to participate in this morning's function. Accommodation, comfortable and also from the utilitarian point of view good accommodation, is always necessary for doing good work, knowing as I do the kind of responsible work that the judges have to perform, it is necessary that they should not only be housed well but also have suitable surroundings which help them in keeping their temper and also in the discharge of their duties to the satisfaction of all. It is, therefore, a matter of pleasure that the Government, particularly the Chief Minister, were anxious to provide the funds for expanding the building of the High Court; and as the Chief Justice has been good enough to point out, not only the Government, but the whole staff of the Engineering Department, co-operated in completing the building in a short time. I hope that with the complement of judges that you have got now, with better accommodation and with the keenness with which you have entered upon your duty, with the co-operation of the members of the Bar, the arrears which had accumulated on account of various reasons over which you had no control will soon be wiped out. In course of time, I am sure, you will be able not only to dispense justice but also to dispense it with quickness, so that by the time a man goes back from the court, he does not find himself out of pocket more than he need be on account of the delay in the administration of justice.

Our Constitution has provided for the independence of judges in ample manner and it is expected—and I am glad to say that expectation is fulfilled in most cases—that justice will be administered by the judges of the High Court impartially not only as between individual and individual or between a private party and a corporation, but also between a private individual on one side and the State on the other. If there is one thing which we have inherited from the British Government, which is of great value to us, it is the judicial system that we have got from them. It is not that we did not have any judicial system before the British came, we had our own system. But during the 150 years or more that the British ruled here, they introduced very largely their own system of not only laws but also of procedure to be followed in administering the laws, and today all over the country we have

got courts presided over by judges assisted by lawyers who have all been brought up in the tradition which derives directly from the British system. Therefore, we have been trying also to keep up the traditions not only of the Bench, but also of the Bar. It is obvious that you cannot have a very strong Bench unless you have a strong Bar. Apart from the fact that members of the Bench have to be recruited from amongst members of the Bar, the Bar also leads support in maintaining the integrity, the impartiality and speedy disposal by the court, and it is, therefore, a matter of congratulation that you have already got a pretty strong Bar here- I am told you have more than 500 members practising before the High Court—and I have no doubt that these members will continue to supply members of the Bench and give their service to the public in obtaining justice.

Now I said our Constitution makes ample provision for the independence of judges. As a matter of fact, the various arms of the State, the courts, especially the High Courts and the Supreme Court, have been kept more or less completely independent of the influence of the executive. In the form of democracy which we have adopted, there is bound to be a party which will take up the work of administering the country—the State—and political parties will always have rivalry and they will also have to bear in mind, apart from the good of the country that they are expected to serve, the party interests also. It is, therefore, necessary that judges should be above party politics and should be above the influence of any government that may be in power for the time being. It is for this reason that the appointment of High Court Judges is made not by the Local Government but by the President. Of course, the President acts in accordance with the advice of his Ministers, but they are supposed to be apart from the local parties where the High Court is situated.

We have during our own time seen tremendous changes in politics, but the changes in law and the consequent change in litigation have also been not less important or less tremendous. I believe some thirty years ago, most of the big litigation was concerned with inheritance to big zamindaris, and with the abolition of zamindaris, and with the great changes that have been introduced in land laws, and further on account of changes in the law of succession which have been introduced by legislation, the nature and form of litigation have undergone considerable change. At one time it was thought that with the abolition of these big zamindaris, there will be less litigation, but I do not know—you know the figures better than I do—whether there has been any lessening or diminution in the number of institution of cases either before the High Courts or before the lower courts. The change in the law of succession and in land laws has resulted in a change in the form of litigation, not in the quantum of it, and the addition of fundamental rights

in our Constitution and the powers of courts to issue writs, have provided an altogether new field more or less for litigation, and if I mistake not, the number of writ petitions in the various States pending before the High Courts goes into thousands as was pointed out by the Chief Justice a few minutes ago. I believe other types of cases are now coming up, and the more we develop industrially, commercial cases are bound to increase in importance as well as in number.

So, while we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that we have changed the form of litigation, I am not sure if we are in a position to congratulate ourselves on the fact that litigation has become or will become less. That being so, the independence of Judges has to be assured, and that our Constitution has done, as I have said, in ample measure. I have no doubt that in dealing with these cases you have the assistance of all the members of the Bar who are really officers of the court, whatever the public might think and whatever some of the lawyers themselves might think, they are here not to win cases but to assist the judges in deciding cases justly, fairly and independently. The function of the lawyer is to assist the judge by pointing out the strong points in favour of one side, and the opponent on the other side takes similar care to point out the strong points in his client's favour and also the weak points in the other side's case. Now it is in this way that the judges are enabled to function and to bring out the best that can be found on the record.

As a young man when I was practising at the Bar, I remember an incident and I wish to mention it here because I have got in front of me a galaxy of lawyers either on the Bench or at the Bar. As a young man, I was arguing a short appeal before the High Court Judge, and I do not know whether it was deliberate or inadvertently, I made the remark the justice of the case requires this and that and the Hon'ble Judge was pleased to snub me by saying, "You are entirely wrong, we are not here to do justice, but we are here to decide cases from the record". I could only say in reply to the Judge "My Lord, I am distressed to hear this."

I too hope that while you have to confine yourself to the record, to the evidence that has been placed before the High Court and not to impart anything of your own knowledge or anything that is not contained in the record, you cannot afford to ignore the claims of justice altogether and I do not think it is impossible to reconcile justice with the facts as recorded in the evidence. The function of the lawyer and the function of the judge is to sift the wrong from the right and the right from the wrong, and to find out in the confusion which is very often created by conflicting evidence, where the truth lies, and justice lies where the truth lies. Therefore, while deciding cases, judges have to bear in mind that the decision has to conform to the

evidence, but at the same time it has to conform to their conscience also because they have to make up their mind whether to accept a particular piece of evidence or not to accept it.

We have had a glorious tradition of the Bar and the Bench in this country and even while the British were ruling this country, our Bar had attained an importance and a capacity to do good which was equal to the Bar of any country, and even in those days our judges were able to deliver judgments which could compare favourably with judgments delivered by judges in any country in the world, both from the point of view of learning, knowledge of the law and also the acumen with which the plethora of evidence was sifted and examined. So we have had that tradition, and now that we are free, we ought to add to that and make our courts and our litigant public conscious of the fact that they are here to do justice also. It is one of the difficulties which a poor client has always to face, and that is the delay in the disposal of cases. That has to be reduced as far as possible, and I hope with the additional judges and the full complement that you have got now, you will be able to dispose of cases quickly so that a man who actually wins in the court does as a matter of fact win at home also. That is what has to be done and I have no doubt that you have all got that always in your mind when you are sitting to decide cases.

As I have said, the nature of litigation has changed, but the kind of learning, the kind of integrity, the kind of acumen which Judges have to bring to bear on cases coming before them, they have not changed and they will not change. In this country where people go to court even for small matters, the quicker the disposal, the better for all concerned, and while there is ample provision for appeal against decisions of courts, even the highest court in the State, people should feel that justice has been done and they should not be in the need of going up in appeal. Of course there will be a certain class of people who go to court more or less in a gambling spirit. We cannot help that, but we can rest assured that the ordinary man with ordinary intelligence and ordinary case for his own interest, will not go to the appellate court if his case is justly decided in the First Court even if he fails there. Gambler apart, the ordinary man brings the dispute before the court, and when a decision adverse has been given, there is the end of the matter so far as he is concerned and it is that class of people that we have to keep satisfied not only by doing justice, but by making it appear to all that justice has been done. The members of the Bar, as I have said, play an important part in the administration of justice and I have no doubt that they will have before them the highest traditions of the Bar in this country.

I am grateful to the Chief Justice for asking me to come here this morning and to take part in this function because I was also at one time, as

you have said, a lawyer, and although I have long ceased to be one—I have been much longer out of the Bar than in it—still the first love is never completely lost.

There is some kind of satisfaction when I come across people of the same fraternity to which I at one time belonged. I can only hope that in the sphere in which I am working, with the members of the Bar as well as with the members of the Bench, their judicial acumen will judge my doings when I have left my place.

I thank you all for the patience with which you have listened to me because I have been talking more or less at random without any set purpose and I am sure the Hon'ble Judges who are used to listening to arguments which are expected to be relevant but which very often are not, will extend some kind of indulgence to a man who has long ceased to be a member of the Bar.

Propagation of Hindi

WHEN AN INVITATION to participate in this function was extended to me and that invitation was reinforced by Dr. Katju, I had little hesitation in accepting it.

I desire to make it clear at the outset that although the Constitution has laid down—and that with the unanimous vote of the Constituent Assembly—that Hindi written in the Devanagari script shall be the official language of the Union of India, it is subject to the limitation that it shall be only by gradual steps which have to be decided on recommendations of two quinquennial Commissions whose report shall be scrutinised by Committees of Parliament and then action taken in accordance with the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee by the Government. And it is expected that the country would be in a position to give effect to the Constitutional provisions in 15 years' time. That again is subject to certain restrictions regarding the language of the High Court, Supreme Court, etc. With regard to the language to be used by the Government in States, it is the regional language or Hindi which is to be used in accordance with the direction given by the State Legislature.

It is thus clear that there is no provision which can be interpreted as lending support to the imposing of Hindi either on the Central Government or on any State Government. The idea is to so phase the various steps to

be taken as to make the changeover from English to Hindi, as the Union Official language, easy and convenient and that on the advice of a special Commission and a special Parliamentary Committee on which all parties and regional languages and interests will be represented. The first Commission, which was appointed has made a report which is being considered by the Parliamentary Committee and it is not yet possible to say what the final form of the recommendations on which the Government will have to act will be. We must, however, exclude, and indeed I know it is nobody's intention to act otherwise, all apprehension of Hindi being imposed. Whenever it is introduced and whatever the stages and gradual steps taken to introduce it, both the time and the action will be determined by Parliament, and the Parliament in this as in all other matters is the mouthpiece and the authoritative body to lay down the law and the national policy.

Coming to the merits of the question, I think I should consider the matter in some detail. In the first place, the real contest in the States is not between Hindi and English but between English and the regional languages. I do not know if it has been argued or suggested that English should continue to be the language for State purposes in preference to the regional language. That is a proposition which I consider to be not only unarguable but even unstatable. After nearly 150 years of education in English, it cannot be said, and it has not been claimed even, that it has reached more than an infinitesimal proportion of the population. Democracy will lose all its meaning if its business is to be conducted in a language which is understood by a very small section and that mainly of the urban population. There can be no question that the vast mass of humanity which does not know English cannot be left out of account and the business of the State Government has to be carried out in the local or regional language.

Most of the State Legislatures have, therefore, most naturally and correctly decided that their affairs shall be conducted in their regional languages. English has to give place to regional languages and sooner or later—very much sooner rather than later—these regional languages have to come to their own in their own regions to the extent they have been so long excluded. When regional languages have thus been introduced to the fullest extent for all governmental purposes within their own regions, and we know that they are to a very considerable extent the languages used by the people generally in all other matters, the question will arise if we shall be justified in asking English to remain the language of the Central Government and for inter-State communication. In that changed context when, as I have said, all State work is carried on in the regional language and the regional language has been enriched further in the process and all in the State services have, as a matter of course, acquired proficiency in

the regional language, the question naturally will be, which other language are they to learn and have proficiency in, for inter-State purposes. Obviously it can and should be an Indian language. Hindi selected as the official language of the Union, has an affinity with most, if not all, of the regional languages largely because of a common background, especially through Sanskrit. It will obviously mean less effort for men proficient in the regional languages to learn Hindi and gain proficiency in it than for them to learn and gain proficiency in an altogether foreign unconnected language like English.

Apart from this severely practical consideration, sentiment cannot be altogether ruled out. The self-respect, patriotism and the urge for unity will demand that an Indian language should be the language of the country's government. Indeed, it has already been felt as a matter of experience that in many foreign countries, surprise is felt if not openly expressed that we still continue to use English for our foreign affairs. Even small countries insist on their formal documents being written and presented to us in their own language and I have seen representatives of foreign governments using their own language, on formal occasions at least, even if they know English. We too have to use Hindi in our formal documents which have to be delivered to or exchanged with foreign countries. As time passes this feeling is bound to grow stronger and stronger.

The importance of a common language for certain purposes for a country's unity cannot be exaggerated. I am conscious of the fact that there are factors, other than a common language, which are vital for strengthening a nation's unity. It is, however, an incontrovertible fact that when the said other factors are there, common language proves to be a great cementing force. Such a situation obtains in our country. Our age-old traditions, our worldly and spiritual ideals, our peculiar thought—all these factors have gone to constitute the fabric of India's unity, which is generally called cultural unity. I admit that this picture of Indian unity has not always been perfect. Politically speaking, our unity suffered setbacks in the past, resulting in the establishment of more than one State in the country. To add political unity to the concept of cultural unity redounds to the credit of the present age. It is a fact of which all of us can feel proud. We were fortunate in being blessed with leaders whose guidance and moral stature helped us in achieving this objective. Now that the plant of political unity has taken root in the soil fertilized by cultural unity, it is the duty of every Indian to leave nothing undone to nurture this plant. The adoption and propagation of a common Indian language for all-India and inter-State contacts is in my opinion essential for strengthening this sapling of national unity and freedom.

The question then naturally arises which of the Indian languages can perform this function? We have several languages well developed and having good literatures of their own, and a selection had to be made and the Constituent Assembly adopted Hindi because it was spoken and understood more widely than any other single language and also because it had served in the past as a common language for India for all those who did not know English. We know that pilgrims and traders have very largely depended on some form of what may be called Hindi for making themselves understood by others in distant parts of the country.

A movement for the spread of Hindi in the Southern region was started some forty years ago and we know that within this period it has succeeded in teaching Hindi to some 50 lakhs of people in the Southern region; as against this the number of people knowing English in that region was just over 10 lakhs. It may be that the standard of the knowledge of English of some or rather a great part of this number was very much higher than that of those knowing Hindi. But that would only indicate the need for higher standard in Hindi being introduced. And this progress has been achieved when there was every encouragement for the study of English which opened the avenues of all worthwhile employments and there was hardly any avenue of that kind for the Hindi-knowing.

The present position is that arrangements for the teaching of Hindi exist in nearly all the 5,000 High Schools and more than 200 Colleges in the South and irrespective of the fact whether it is compulsory or optional subject of study, the number of students studying it is ever increasing. In Andhra and Kerala, Hindi is taught as a compulsory subject, whereas it is not so in Madras but even in this latter State more than 75 per cent school students offer Hindi as one of the subjects. There is little wonder that apart from the 5,000 High Schools, there are another 4,500 public centres in the South for the study of Hindi. All this speaks eloquently about the sense of patriotism and nationalism of the South Indian people. The objection to Hindi being adopted for the purposes of the Union has been voiced in the Tamil area. But even in Tamilnad there is a powerful voice which while opposing its adoption as the official language for the Union supports its teaching and spread in that region. So far as the other South Indian languages are concerned, there is no appreciable opposition. It is interesting by the way to note that Tamilians are going in for Hindi with the same enthusiasm as before. The comparative figures of examinees at the examinations of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha will show that even during 1957 and 1958 there has been some increase which shows an upward trend.

The most formidable objection to Hindi that is raised by its opponents is that it is not rich enough for modern purposes. That is an objection

applicable more or less to all Indian languages. The reason is simple and easily understandable. They have never been called upon or required to fulfill these needs. The subjects in respect of which there is poverty of vocabulary in Hindi, or for that matter in any other Indian language, have never been taught in our schools and colleges through the medium of Hindi or any other Indian regional language. Our teachers and professors have never cultivated them or used them for expressing their thoughts. Whatever contribution to the advancement of knowledge they have made they have done through the medium of English and naturally our languages have not grown to the extent needed. Whenever they have been called upon to fulfill a purpose, as for example, for expressing sentiments and philosophical thought, they have acquitted themselves well and in the hands of a good or a great writer they have yielded results which have roused the curiosity and admiration of others.

I have no doubt that once given the scope they will come up to the requisite standard. Can anyone say that scientific subjects have found ready-made vocabulary in any language of the world? Is it not a fact that with the growth of science and technology new words have been coined in all languages, and there is no reason why the same should not happen in India, if we once take to our languages for expressing modern scientific ideas. Our scientists will not find it difficult to coin words where necessary, specially with the help of Sanskrit, once they start writing in our languages including Hindi.

As I have said, this want of suitable technical vocabulary is common to all Indian languages. My own feeling is that with the aid of Sanskrit it is possible to have one common technical vocabulary. The effort which has been and is being made by the Government of India in evolving such a vocabulary has met with remarkable success. Although some of the new terms may appear unfamiliar and even uncouth, the effort is in the right direction. I am hoping that as more and more use begins to be made of it, it will go on improving and will get enriched further in the process. This is what has happened in all countries and with all languages and there is no reason why it should not happen in India. If once this happens, the most formidable obstacle in the way of Indian languages being used even for science and technology is removed and there will be no other hurdle. Governmental and administrative terms are much easier and more readily available and will undoubtedly be adopted in them sooner than in scientific and technological writings.

I do not mean to suggest that English, as a useful foreign language, should cease to be cultivated or taught in Indian schools. The spheres of

English and of the Indian languages are more or less mutually exclusive, so that when the later have come to occupy their rightful place, there can be no clash between them. Far from discouraging the study of English, we should continue to cultivate it assiduously just as important foreign languages are studied in other countries.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I point out to all who are interested in the growth and spread of Hindi that misplaced enthusiasm is largely responsible for such opposition as is visible now. It is really not the function of the Hindi-speaking people to engage in propaganda for the adoption of Hindi as the official language. It should be left to be introduced with the goodwill and support of the non-Hindi-speaking people, when they are in a position to feel that their interests are not affected for the worse and that their national and patriotic sentiment demands the adoption of an Indian language for official purposes. Personally, I have no doubt that that feeling will not take long to assert itself. In the meantime, all lovers of Hindi have before them the very important and constructive work to develop the language, its vocabulary and its literature so as to make it attractive on its own merits to all who do not know it. There are many directions in which work should be undertaken.

In enriching the language and literature of Hindi, the Hindi-speaking people should not be rigid or narrow in their attitude but should have a wide outlook, and instead of frowning upon non-Hindi-speaking people for any the least departure from accepted models, they should encourage more and more such people to make contribution even in determining the vocabulary, the idioms, the style and perhaps to some extent even the grammar of the language. It is possible that various styles with slight differences may arise, and as a matter of fact they do exist to some extent even now, but that has to be tolerated and even welcomed. If we take only the example of England and America into consideration, we shall find ample justification for what I have said. Although English is the language of both, there is considerable difference in many respects in the language as used in the one country and in the other. But for that reason the language has, not ceased and cannot be said to be anything but English. Similarly, if some variation in vocabulary, idiom or style becomes apparent in any writer or in any region, we should look upon it as a sign of growth rather than of deterioration. If we consider Hindi alone, we shall find considerable difference between the language and the style of Premasagar and Premchand's writings. I believe there is difference even in the styles of Bharatendu Harishchandra and living Poets of today. Therefore, if a Maharashtrian or a Bengali writes in a somewhat different style, we should not be surprised, because he is

bound to be influenced by the style, vocabulary and idiom of his own language. It is only in this way that Hindi can spread and be accepted by non-Hindi-speaking people even for the limited purposes for which it is intended.

We have to remember that all the Indian languages are bound to grow and improve in their own regions and we are pledged to help them. There is, thus, a vast field for the enrichment of all these languages, and when they get enriched, Hindi ought to be prepared to get as much out of them as it would like them to take out of it. I believe it is true not only of material prosperity but also of languages of India that the improvement and enrichment of anyone of them is bound to have its effect on the others. If we only look back to the early years of this century, we cannot fail noticing the influence which Bengali literature had on the growth of Hindi literature. Hindi owes not a little to many non-Hindi-speaking people who have made their valuable contribution to Hindi, and there is no reason to suppose why this should not happen in the future. Further, Hindi cannot be treated as a preserve of the Hindi-speaking people alone. It is common experience that when a person with the language as his mother-tongue studies another language, he studies it better than his own language, and a person who has given time to mastering a foreign language generally knows the language better than those whose mother-tongue that foreign language is. Even today we can see in South India persons who write and talk better, more chaste and more idiomatic Hindi than, say, a person like myself does. I am quite sure that with the speed with which Hindi is spreading, and the devotion and zeal with which it is being cultivated in several of the non-Hindi-speaking regions, they will not only attract the attention of the Hindi-speaking people but will begin even to displace them from many places. English people and foreigners are surprised at the fluency and style of Indians writing and speaking English. That is a phenomenon which is bound to be repeated also in the case of Hindi. That will be a happy day and when it comes, there will be no opposition, but Hindi will be held as the language for all-India purposes by all parts with joy.

Hindi speaking people have to work in a spirit of dedication so as to win the approval of the non-Hindi-speaking people for Hindi by making it a fit vehicle for expression of all kinds of modern ideas and also by making its literature rich enough to attract others. They ought to have faith in the patriotism of others and leave it to them to lay down the pace and the steps to be taken for implementing the Constitution.

The Spirit of Service

I AM VERY glad to have come here in response to the kind invitation of the Executive Council of the Indian Institute of Public Administration for opening its new building. Having had the pleasure of visiting your Institute earlier in your old premises, I can claim a little familiarity with its working and its aims and objects. I have also had occasion to visit and know something about a similar institution in Hyderabad, Administrative Staff College of India. Both of these institutions are of all-India importance and national in character, the main difference being that whereas yours has been sponsored by the Government, the Administrative Staff College of India, located at Hyderabad, is mainly the result of non-governmental effort. But I take it that to some extent at least both of these must be covering common ground and care must have been taken to avoid duplication or overlapping.

Public administration in a vast country like India has a deep bearing on the happiness and welfare of the people. At a time when governmental functions and business administrations are tending to expand more and more in people's interest and when the impact of the administrative machinery is felt at all levels of public activity, any plan which seeks to promote the study of public administration and to provide facilities therefore, will be widely welcomed. I am happy that the Union Government should have taken the initiative in setting up an institute like this with which the State Governments, academic bodies, individual units of Government and business associations are closely connected.

Public administration as I view it as a layman, is a pragmatic science, by which I mean that human experience and our day-to-day needs and requirements are the mainspring from which its aims and rules of procedure are drawn. In a sense, therefore, the principles of public administration reflect the spirit of the age and the conditions of society in that age. We read with considerable interest the accounts of the working of public administration in ancient times, the middle ages and the beginning of the modern era from the pen of historians and travellers. Those accounts do give us an idea of the state of social and public affairs prevailing in those times. But gradually, as the tempo of social life has gone on mounting as a result of the advances in knowledge and the multiplication of human needs, public administration also has gone on acquiring a more and more complicated complexion. Today we have reached a stage when the smooth or defective

working of administration, whether at the governmental or business level, cannot fail to be reflected in the day-to-day affairs of the people. That is because public administration has made inroads into every department of life so that anything like a vacuum from the point of view of administration has ceased to exist.

That being so, hardly an arrangement is needed to support the plea for setting up special institutes like yours for promoting and providing the study of administration and its various branches. As I have said, public administration in order to be useful or, at any rate, above criticism has to keep itself in close touch with all sections of the public, for it is from public opinion and popular action and reaction that it draws the material on which to build, to correct and to reshape itself. Hence the need of an intensive study of the various subjects of popular interest, particularly social sciences like Economics and Political Science. Hence also the need of continuous research leading to proper appreciation of popular needs.

It is gratifying to know that the detailed programme which you have prepared provides amply for all these activities. Apart from building up and maintaining suitable libraries and information services to facilitate and study of public administration and spreading information in regard thereto, you have also organised a school of public administration for the training of administrators. I am sure the two years' and one year's training courses which you have provided in this school will attract large members of our young men and women and, in the long run, it would improve the quality of the human material for purposes of selection of our administrative services and business administration.

While you have taken all possible care to provide facilities for study, research and training, which may be expected to turn out efficient administrators, I shall take the liberty of pointing out to one quality which I consider to be a basic qualification for an administrator. Apart from efficiency which is so essential, the administrator needs to have a human approach to all problems and programmes that he has to solve and implement. That implies that he must have the spirit of service. Without this human approach and this spirit of service even the best trained administrator will fail to have the right approach to the problems he is called upon to tackle. Administration, let it not be forgotten, is not an end in itself. It is essentially a means to an end, which is promoting the welfare of the community through orderly management of day-to-day affairs and smooth disposals of work whether in office or in the field. This end can be achieved only if those entrusted with the task of administration undertake it in a spirit of public service. They must conduct themselves in a manner which inspires people's

confidence and co-operation. I have mentioned it here because you are going to train young men in the principles of public administration.

An organisation like yours, which is both a research and study centre and a training institution, requires good and commodious premises. I am, therefore, happy to see that through your Executive Council's efforts and Government's help you are now going to have your own building. While declaring this new building open, I offer you my congratulations and wish the Indian Institute of Public Administration the best of luck and a long career of service to the nation.

Winning People's Confidence

IT IS GOOD you have taken this opportunity of coming and seeing something of the working in the capital of India not only for the Police Force, but I suppose you will get an opportunity of seeing something else also. At the present moment the Parliament is sitting, and I think it might possibly interest you to go and sit there for a little while and see how Members of Parliament act and speak and do their work there. Then you have got an opportunity of seeing something of the big secretarial work that is going on all round here and your services will be required under similar conditions on a somewhat smaller scale in your own States when you go back to them. But there are certain things which you will have to do wherever you may be, whether in a small State or a big State, or a big city or a small town or village; and it is these fundamental things about which alone I can speak, not knowing the details of your working.

You are in a sense the eyes of the Government. All the information which the Government gets and on which it acts has to be collected by you to be conveyed to the Government. When I say all, I only mean all worthwhile information belonging to whatever department it may be which has to be collected by you. At any rate, you will have to keep your eyes open to all kinds of happenings within your own jurisdictions and you have, therefore, to be always cautious and vigilant, because if the eyes go wrong, then nothing can go right. You have, therefore, to behave like very good eyes, you should not become myopic or shortsighted. You should be able to see everything in its correct perspective and then guide those above you to use that knowledge which you acquire for them. Looked at from that point of view, the importance of the police to the administration as a whole becomes apparent. It is not only as if the business of a policeman is to

catch thieves and bring criminals to justice. That of course is a very important thing you have to do; but apart from that, the whole life of the people is in a sense at your disposal, and you can help to improve it or, if you are really not willing to play your part well, you can also to a considerable extent cause a deterioration in the life of the people. For example, you have got so many places of amusement, beginning with the football match and ending with the cinema house. In all these places you have to be present, if for nothing else, just to see that the people there are kept in order, and do not misbehave. You have to deal with all kinds of people, whether at public meetings or public demonstrations, demonstrations by angry people or by good-intentioned people and unless you keep yourselves very vigilant, you are liable to make mistakes. The thing that is required is that you should be able to see things in their correct perspective and then also, do the right thing at the right moment. Suppose something is happening. If you are simply hesitating and waiting to see how things turn out, well, some big mischief may happen. So you will have occasions when you have to take very quick decisions, and you must be prepared to take even risks, if necessary. But you should be sure in your own mind that what you are doing is right. Do not do anything which you do not consider to be right, certainly not in a hurry. If you work like that, then you will see the effect of it in the life all around you, and as you are all of the officer class, whatever you do, just percolates, whether you wish it or not, to the lower rank and file; and if you are perfectly correct, then it cannot but have a good effect on your subordinates, and if they go wrong, you can then, if you are yourself perfectly correct, find fault with them and take them to task. But if you do something to which anybody can point his finger, then your moral authority, just to that extent, diminishes. It is not just the authority, you exercise on account of the powers which are vested in you which really keeps things going; it is the moral authority which is more powerful than the authority which is imposed by fear. If you take that into consideration, you should be able to win the confidence of your subordinates and put them on the right course in whatever they have to do; and what is more valuable than that is to instill confidence in the people amongst whom you have to serve.

Of course there was a time when we had a different kind of political set-up. In those days, the police had to do their duty, but there were certain other considerations also. Now there is no other consideration except the will of the people. There is no consideration of the prestige of an individual. You have only to see the good of the people at large and good of the people as determined by law, as determined by the

policy laid down by those whose duty it is to lay down the policy. If you work honestly and diligently, then nothing can go wrong. If you are quite straight in your dealings, you may rest assured that even those who are crooked and who want to do you harm, will not be able to do any harm. But if there is anything crooked about you, then even other people will take advantage of it and do you more harm than you deserve even in spite of being crooked. So this is the thing which a public servant has to keep in mind, and much more so the policeman because his work brings him in contact with all classes of people. He comes in contact with the thief, with the crooked as much as with the saint. Sometimes you find the thief in the form of a saint and the saint looking like a thief. You should be able to distinguish the one from the other and having distinguished the thief from the sadhu, you should be able to do honour to the sadhu and deal out justice to the thief. That entails great difficulty. I suppose there is a kind of impression that the Police officer is rather inferior, to say, the I. A. S. or the Army officer. It is not so. It is not so because neither the I. A. S. Officer and much less the Army man comes in contact with the people as much as you do. You have to do all kinds of things. For example, you may have to pull out a dead body or pull out a man who is just getting burnt in a burning house; you have sometimes to catch hold of a thief who is running, and firing his pistol behind him you have to catch him. On the other hand, you have also to receive the best people in the country like Ministers etc. So you must be prepared to adjust yourselves to all these various and different conditions; and as I said before, if you keep your eye-sight correct, so that you are able to see things correctly, you may rest assured that things will go right and you will not be put to any difficulty nor will you do anything which will put others to any unnecessary difficulty.

I do not know what else I can tell you—I can talk only in general terms. I am quite sure that so far as the detailed working of your department goes, for example what you have to do, how you have to write reports, etc. etc., you will have received instructions about those things. I can only talk in general terms. The poorest man sitting in a hut is judging you as much as the Judge sitting on a high chair, because you come in contact with everybody. If you remember all this, I am quite sure you will be able to give a good account of yourselves.

No Conflict Among Indian Languages

IN INDIA WE have got quite a number of languages which are spoken in different areas by millions and millions of people. Among them Telugu is one of the most widely spoken and understood and it is but natural that you in Andhra Pradesh should be anxious and keen to have all kinds of literature of modern type in the Telugu language.

It is a well-known fact that the Indian languages have grown in many centuries and they have had quite a good literature in poetry, in religious affairs, in philosophy and things of that sort but it is also a fact that their literature in modern science and technology is rather poor. Nobody is to blame because only recently the study of science became a subject of interest to us. I remember the days when I was a young student in the Presidency College of Calcutta and till I passed my B.A. there was no B.Sc. in our college, and even in the University, Science became a separate subject of study after I graduated from the Calcutta University. That shows how science came to be introduced at rather a late stage even in our universities. Of course in all those universities the medium of instruction was English and naturally most of our modern leaders and thinkers have been educated through the medium of English and they have, therefore, acquired proficiency in that language and also been able to write and express themselves in that language whenever any occasion arose for them. It is, therefore, not surprising that we had neither the opportunity nor the capacity to deal in the scientific subjects and technology amongst our people until recent years. It is not at all surprising that there is a lack of literature in those subjects in the Indian languages but it is also true that our people have acquired great proficiency in science and technology and many of them, although they themselves have been instructed through the medium of English, are now taking to the study of Indian languages and some of them at any rate are trying to write in those subjects also in the Indian languages. It is, therefore, a very auspicious beginning for the Andhra Pradesh that you have started an academy with the special object of having literature in science, technology and history and allied subjects in the Telugu language. Whatever deficiency there might be in that respect in Telugu language will, I am sure, be made up in due course through the instrumentality of your academy and other institutions.

I agree that the medium of instruction plays a very important part not only in the growth of knowledge of particular interest but also in enabling

people to achieve a high standard in different subjects and it is nothing to be surprising at that our Government should have taken a decision that the Indian languages should be media of instruction, right up to the university course in all our States and in order that that may be achieved it is necessary that certain literature should grow in all the States in the Universities and that literature should be of the standard which may meet the requirements of students in the higher classes. It is a question of time when that will be achieved. But I have no doubt that with the enthusiasm which has been created after attainment of independence our people will be able in not very distant future to attain the highest degree of study in different languages through the medium of different languages of the country.

There is really no question of any conflict between any State language and Hindi. I think if there is any conflict, it is between English and Indian languages amongst which Hindi is one. Even that conflict is only for official purposes. Therefore, let us not exaggerate that difference if it exists but to keep it within its due proportion and what is required is that we develop our languages in such a way that they may take their place amongst the richest languages of the world. I have no doubt they have the capacity and as most of them have Sanskrit as their background there is no doubt also that they can draw upon the rich language in making up such deficiency as there may be in finding technical terms and expressions which may be required. But we should not attach too much importance to one language or another when the question of technical terms is concerned. The idea should be to popularise them and if there is any English word which has become so popular that it has to be retained, there is nothing lost in retaining it and similarly, if there is an expression which has to remain, nothing is lost in retaining some of the words instead of coining new words for them. In all such matters, we have to take what is called the golden mean i.e. the middle course and try to find what is most convenient and serviceable from the point of view of the country at large. I hope your institution would be able to help a great deal in the growth of Telugu literature and the steps which you are taking up and the fact that you have already made a good beginning that way augurs well for the future. I hope in due course it will be possible to practically introduce your language, Telugu, in the universities in the Andhra Pradesh right up to the degree and doctorate standards and it will not be possible for one to say that you cannot undertake teaching of these subjects in the Telugu language because there are no books available as some times it is done now. I do trust that with the general help which you are assured to get from all directions, you will go a great way in making up that deficiency so that any justification for maintaining a foreign language as the medium of instruction in our colleges and universities may be removed.

I think I should say nothing more about this matter. But I would just say a few words about the language of administration. You have said that the Madras Government as well as the Andhra Government have decided to use the local languages, i.e. Tamil in Madras and Telugu here for all administrative purposes. I know the difficulty that is being experienced in some cases in replacing English which has so long been used but that difficulty, I think, is only a temporary phase because the language is rich enough to be able to express all that is required to be expressed for administrative and judicial purposes and the only difficulty is that those who have to use it are themselves not proficient in them. That is not so much the fault of the language as of men who are required to use it. That is somehow to be remedied and it is bound to be remedied. Then this difficulty will also disappear. It is bound to be remedied because of the change in the medium of instruction when their own language will become more and more the subject of study and the students will acquire greater and greater proficiency in them and when their time comes to join all the services, they will naturally take more easily to Telugu than to English or to any other language. That is true not only of Telugu but also of other Indian languages and therefore, I can foresee that in not very distant future all our administrative work will begin to be done in Indian languages and that is as it should be.

To me it seems not only unarguable but even unstatable that a free country should depend for the purpose of its administration and for the purpose of its business on a foreign language, however rich that foreign language may be. We should not hesitate to learn foreign languages, specially a rich language like English from which we have derived so much benefit. But it is altogether a different proposition to place English over the head of other languages and in place of other languages. It is not anything against English that I wish to say what is physically practicable and if we look at it from that point of view, there is no room for any difference or any conflict in the matter. To me it seems, as I have said above, not only unarguable but also unstatable that English should continue to be the language of administration or the language of any department of life in India for ever. Therefore, the sooner we take to the more natural course the better for us and I am quite sure the people understand it because after all it is not the few people who were educated through the medium of English who now count in this country but it is the masses who count and the masses can be approached, can be reached only through the regional language, they cannot be reached through the medium of any other than the State language which is spoken in that particular region.

We should not worry ourselves at this stage as to what should be the all India language. Let us confine ourselves to the State languages and

once that question is decided and settled in a practical way, namely, that Telugu in Andhra Pradesh, Tamil in Tamilnad, Hindi in Hindi-speaking areas, Bengali in Bengal, Marathi in Maharashtra, Gujarati in Gujarat, Oriya in Orissa and Assamese in Assam is used, I am quite sure it will not be impossible for us to reach an agreement about having one language for all India purposes and as the Constitution has decided, it is a practical proposition. Not on the score of any superiority or any richness of Hindi but as a matter of practical experience it has adopted Hindi as the language for all India purposes. There will be no difficulty about it at any stage and it will be able to replace English without any difficulty. Therefore, I am not at all worried about it and I do not like that the Hindi-speaking people should be constantly talking about it. It is not necessary to talk about it for them. Things will settle themselves without any efforts on the part of the Hindi-speaking people because that is a practical proposition. There can be no other language which can be adopted for all India purposes and I have no doubt in my mind that when people have to choose between English and an Indian language or between one Indian language and another, they will prefer an Indian language and it will not be any other language but Hindi and not a foreign language, however rich and convenient it may be. When that happens and that will happen one day, Hindi will become really a binding force just as in the past Sanskrit used to be a binding force which has kept bound together north and south, east and west, all parts of the country and so some day Hindi will become a binding factor for all the States and regions of India.

I am happy that this step has been taken and this academy has been started. I do hope it will make progress and fulfil the expectations which have been made of it. I have great pleasure in inaugurating this conference.

The Role of Lawyers and Judges

To BEGIN WITH I confess to a sense of secret satisfaction that I have been given this opportunity of meeting friends of a profession to which I once belonged but from which I severed connection more than 40 years ago now. It is really good in this way by short contacts to be reminded of what I was once engaged in and what I tried to do in my own humble way in that profession.

I am one of those who do not believe that the work of lawyers is finished. You all know that our entire Constitution is based largely on British model. Our administration of justice also is largely a copy of the system

that prevails there. We know what importance the British constitution has for the British people and we also know how the judicial administration has stood the test of time and how it has proved that in spite of party wranglings on the political platform, justice has always been able to keep itself above all parties; how judges have been able to dispense justice fairly and freely to all who have come to them and how it has been the anxiety and the effort of all parties concerned to keep judiciary above any kind of suspicion. The mere fact that we have copied those institutions ought to be a guarantee that in this country also, at any rate at present and so long as our constitution, the present constitution, lasts, here can be no fear of lawyers or law courts or judges losing any of the great importance which they enjoy. And as a matter of fact we have even now many of our top people who are engaged in the administration of the country who were lawyers; and even if it be true that we are not ruled by lawyers now, there is no question that we are to be ruled according to law, and in order to be ruled according to law, there must be lawyers to point that out and lay down the law.

One of the things which I have sometimes considered rather unfortunate is that while we have provided rather meticulously for the independence of our judiciary and have also provided in a way for the assistance to be given to judges by lawyers in administering the law, there is no provision anywhere that those who make the law know any law at all. And unfortunately that is so because in democracy, you can only count heads, you do not care to know what lies in those heads; and therefore, it is that it is only by sheer numbers that men are elected to rule the country. It is expected that in their own interest they will vote for the best men that are available; and we presume that will always happen. We have yet to see if that always happens, but let us hope that it will happen. There is one thing however, lawyers have no fear, although it has been pointed out by the Chairman of the Bar Association that there are limitations on lawyers on account of legislation in various fields where many things are being excluded from the jurisdiction of courts and in some cases where certain matters come up for judicial interpretation, lawyers are not permitted to help in arriving at the correct decision on the law by the persons who have to decide the law. All that is true and personally I feel that it is not at all good that jurisdiction of courts should be excluded unless it is a case that it is impossible or it is not in the best interest of the society as a whole that courts should interfere, because there is always a tendency in those who have the power to so use the power as to be consistent only with the existence of that power, and not to allow anything to be done which may in any way tend to a reduction of that power. And, for that reason, Governments, like individuals, are apt to act in such way as to exclude the jurisdiction of the third parties like judges who

are not influenced by the same consideration as rulers or administrators are. There is such a tendency, and I say that it is not a good tendency, it should not be there, because unless it be a matter of State in which you cannot trust the judges and where you have to take a decision purely on administrative grounds, there is no reason why even the acts of the administration should not be open to judicial interpretation and to judicial interference if necessary.

But that is a question of opinion and some people may hold that opinion, others may hold that the interests of the people are best known not to the judges but to their chosen representatives and if those chosen representatives think that judges should not interfere in their way of dealing with such matters, well, there they are. Their words ought to carry weight and ought to be always given priority. As I said, that is a question of opinion but even as it is, lawyers are not to be afraid that their work will suffer in any way because if you only look at the number of legislations, the number of bills which we are passing from year to year, they ought to in spite of all attempts to exclude the jurisdiction of courts, keep you all fully engaged all the time if in nothing else, at least in studying the bills which are passed from day to day and in such large numbers. I believe you have got quite a large number of bills passed by the State Legislatures, many passed by the Central Legislature, and there are many which come under what may be called the jurisdiction of courts for the purposes of declaring their validity and I believe even now we have got quite a large number of suits in which one principal question raised is, such and such legislation is beyond the jurisdiction of the legislature which passed it and, therefore, the law which is supposed to govern the particular matter before it, is invalid and is *ultra vires*. That kind of question is constantly arising which was probably not the case long before and which does not arise at all in England where there is one Parliament which has got supreme power. Here, with a constitution which divides the powers between the Central Legislature and the State Legislatures meticulously and with great care, leaving certain fields exclusively to the jurisdiction of the Centre, others exclusively to the jurisdiction of the States and certain others in which they have concurrent jurisdictions, the question naturally arises whether a particular law which has been passed by the Central Legislature or by the State Legislature is within its jurisdiction or not.

And apart from these questions of the validity of particular laws you have also got the large number of writs which can now be issued by courts and I am told by judges themselves that probably the largest number of pending suits or pending matters in some of the High Courts are writ petitions and if you took into account all the writ petitions which are pending all the

country over, the number would be tremendous and I believe these writ petitions are not going to come to an end soon. They will be coming up every now and then and they will be coming up specially in connection with special legislation as; it is undertaken. So you have no reason to be in any way apprehensive about your future. But apart from all this, talking seriously about the matter, I think there is a great deal really for the country to be done by lawyers. Well, in the first place, lawyers in this country have during the last, say, 60 or 70 years played such an important role in public affairs that they cannot be ignored and very largely the credit must go to them for having roused the consciousness of nationality amongst the people of this country. Very largely the credit must go to them for having organised the Indian National Congress and for having run it for a number of years. And although a time came when they fell into the background, that does not mean that they will ever remain in the background because now that we have secured our freedom and we are settling down to a steady national life, there is no reason why they should not again play the same part in keeping the people ready to defend their own liberties whenever they seem to be attacked either by a foreigner or by our own people. After all, it is not inconceivable that we may be attacked by a foreigner. We have to be very careful and vigilant about it. But it is not inconceivable that there may be occasions when we may have to defend our freedom against our own people and also it has happened often in the past that although some people may have ruled, others have been only the ruled. Now that we have got every man as a ruler of the country we cannot afford to go back to a condition in which some will rule and others will only play the part of the ruled. We cannot afford to look upon that kind of situation with equanimity, and, it is not impossible that occasions may arise when some party, some groups or some individuals may attempt again to impose upon the country as a whole the rule of a group or of a party if not of an individual, and the lawyers must be ready to play their part to rouse the country, rouse its consciousness, to rouse its patriotism to fight against that kind of approach and that kind of danger which may come to us some day.

I, therefore, do not look upon your work as either unnecessary or unimportant, as one which is going to cease to have any effect on the future. On the other hand, I do think you have still a part to play and you will carry on your work with honour, with dignity and with pleasure. To the judges, I can only pay a tribute because we have seen that judges have played a very important part even when we were not free. The tradition of independence of judiciary which we have inherited if I may say so from England is not only a thing of today. To a very large extent it was present even during the time when the British were ruling us and it is a rich heritage

which we have got and we should add to it and increase it and I am quite sure that our judges have the capacity and the will to add to their dignity and to add to their reputation. I wish them God speed in this and I can only hope that they will get all the assistance they deserve, all the assistance they require not only from the Bar but from the people at large.

Emphasis on Internal Development

IT IS A pleasure and no small privilege for me to be the recipient on behalf of my country of the felicitations and good wishes from the distinguished representatives of so many countries on the occasion of the anniversary of our Republic. Formality and the dead decorum of routine which characterises ceremonials are apt to dull the sense of pleasure. Need I say that an occasion like this is an exception to this rule? Our delight at the approach of the Republic Day is considerably heightened by the fraternal greetings and the warm cordiality offered to the people of India on behalf of the Governments and the peoples of so many countries.

Your speech, Mr. Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, is warm hearted and pregnant with thought as ever before. I hope to look to it as a treat year after year. How well and truly you have said that it is in adversity that a nation, no less than a man, can measure itself best against its destiny. Not that adversity in itself can ever be a matter of pride or liking; it is the sum total of human reaction and resultant behaviour that one adopts to face it which breeds virtue of the highest order. For man and nations, therefore, trials and tribulations are a part of the game of life and if one can stand up against them and face them as they should be faced, more often than not, strength rather than weakness comes out of the situation. It is in this spirit that a nation should grapple with its difficulties. I can only hope that the kind words that Your Excellency has said may prove to be a tribute well deserved by our nation.

Progress of science and technology have in a sense made co-operative life between nations a necessity. There was a time when the rise and fall of the nations could be ascribed, in most cases, to kings and emperors whose prowess could find only one outlet, namely, conquest of foreign lands. We are living today in a world which is happily different. World opinion is fast mobilising itself against war and any kind of armed conflict among nations. We expect and devoutly hope that the days of military adventures

would soon be over and conquering hordes treading unknown lands would soon become a thing of the past.

The emphasis today is on internal development with the aid of new techniques that the progress of science and technology has made possible. I dare say what we have witnessed in our lifetime has proved conclusively that in ultimate analysis the distinction between the victor and the vanquished in modern warfare is illusory. If nations have to progress, if they want to enrich themselves and raise the living standards of their respective peoples, development of material resources at home rather than marching in formation into foreign lands is the key to the achievement of this ideal.

I am glad to say that we have lived to see the happy day when the climate of peace is gradually spreading in the world. Our hopes and prayers are with those, particularly the Big Nations, who are exerting themselves to stabilise peace in the world and to rid mankind of wars as much as of the fear of war. When these efforts are crowned with success, then alone will the real El Dorado be in sight. It will not be the El Dorado of buccaneers or venturesome pirates on the high seas. It will be the dawn of a real golden age ushered in for the benefit of all.

You have been pleased, Mr. Doyen, to make a reference to our foreign policy, specially our attitude to the recent dispute on our border. I would crave your indulgence in order to endorse what you have said about our Prime Minister. If I may be permitted to speak for him, his statesmanship has an element of the historical perspective and in the determining of his thought and attitude has gone the lesson of history, past and present. I agree that it is a nation's duty to do in practice what it preaches or stands for in theory. There is no doubt that in dealing with this delicate question between ourselves and a great neighbouring country, on whom we still look as a friendly nation we have had to make an effort to pacify popular resentment. Our Government may be said even to have risked unpopularity on this issue. But we have not hesitated to adopt the course which we consider to be the best, not exclusively from our own point of view but also from the point of view of the world at large.

It need hardly be reiterated that our policy flows from and is in keeping with our age-old traditions. We can only hope and pray that a situation never arises when our faith in our principles and traditions is strained to the breaking point. We trust that world opinion and the current emphasis on peace, which cannot but be shared by our neighbour along with other nations, will eventually avert any calamitous development.

Friends, I would like to thank you once again for this kind gesture and all the good thoughts that you have expressed today. Permit me to reciprocate these thoughts and good wishes and to extend the friendly feeling which has prompted them to peoples of your own countries and also other nations.

Need for a Strong Bar

I THINK IT is a wise decision that the members of the Bar have taken to establish an All-India Bar Association. It is wise particularly because this decision has been taken in good time. If there is any foundation for the apprehensions which the Attorney-General has given expression to, a body like this can help in resolving many of the difficulties which may arise and in guiding public opinion in the country, and if I may say so, also members of legislatures in whose hands our legislation is vested.

As we all know, we have deliberately elected for a democracy, and the particular form of democracy which we have chosen for ourselves is on the lines of the British democratic constitution. We are, therefore, naturally guided on many occasions by precedents and by actions of those concerned with the British Constitution. But it will be incorrect to say that we are entirely or even principally based on the British Constitution. For one thing, there is a fundamental difference that in spite of whatever we may think or say, our Parliament is not sovereign in the sense the British Parliament is sovereign. The powers of our Parliament are limited just as the powers of our State Legislatures are limited, and they are limited by the Constitution itself. It may appear to a superficial observer that the Parliament has got the power to effect a change in the Constitution also. That is not the view I take. By laying down a special procedure for altering the Constitution or introducing amendments in the Constitution, the Constitution has laid down that the Parliament for the time being constitutes itself into a Constituent Assembly for the particular function and after having fulfilled that function, it again reverts to the position of an ordinary Parliament for ordinary day-to-day legislation.

This is so because it is apparent that there are two kinds of amendments which are involved in our Constitution. There are certain amendments which may be passed more or less without any formality. There are others on which there are many restrictions and many kinds of limitations. A special procedure is provided without which an amendment cannot be passed, and

therefore I say that when we make this distinction, we must recognize that Parliament cannot be said to be sovereign in the sense in which the British Parliament is sovereign whose decision cannot be questioned in any court of law. It is almost a daily experience of all of us that Acts and legislation passed by Parliament are brought before courts on which they have to pronounce whether the Parliament had the right to pass a particular law or whether it had exceeded its jurisdiction or had acted within its powers. If that is so, then we must realise that the Constitution, for that very reason divides the functions of the various organs of the State and it makes each organ more or less self-sufficient and independent in its own sphere. If the legislature is independent in its sphere, the judiciary is equally independent in its own sphere, and while the one cannot and ought not to interfere with the activities of the other, each one has certain restraints which it has put upon itself in order to be able to act justly and fairly so that the work may proceed without any difficulty and without any obstruction. We know that in this respect, our State legislatures pass laws and many of these laws conflict with the laws passed by the Centre. And according to the provisions of the Constitution itself, this conflict has to be resolved either by obtaining the assent of the President or by declaring that being in the concurrent field the decision of Parliament will be supreme as compared with the decision on the same subject of a State legislature.

The whole Constitution, therefore, envisages checks and balances so that unless each acts within its own sphere, limited by the Constitution and even more so limited by its own dignity and sense of restraint, the work of the Constitution cannot get on well. It is here that the importance of the judiciary becomes so apparent and that is so when we take into consideration that the judiciary has to decide not only disputes between one citizen and another, but also between a citizen and a State, between one State and another and between all the States on one side and the Centre on the other, and between one individual and the Centre. This gives a wide scope where the jurisdiction of the courts is affected and, therefore, the work of the courts becomes all the more important. The courts are helped and advised—I do not think I shall use the word ‘advised’—the courts are helped and assisted by members of the Bar in carrying out their functions. They only make submissions and do not advise the courts; and when the Bar is strong, it also provides the Government with a field for recruitment of good judges. The tendency now is to confine all appointments to the members of the Bar. If the Bar is weak, the judiciary will be weak and there can be no question about that; and if you want to have a strong judiciary you would have a strong Bar so that you may have judges with the right calibre. There is an old saying *Yatha Raja Tatha Praja*, (As is the King, so will

the citizens of the State be). I think this has to be reversed in a democracy. In a democracy the rulers cannot be better than the ruled because they represent the ruled and they are selected and elected by those who are ruled. They cannot obviously rise very much above their own standards and above their own status. If they are wise, they will select wise men. If they are corrupt they will select corrupt men. If they are good, they will select good men. And therefore, it is that creation of public opinion of the right type amongst the masses, amongst the people who have to constitute the government, has to be carried on continuously without a break. The Bar offers opportunities for its members to help in this matter as much as it can help in the actual administration of justice. I have, therefore, always felt that there is need for a strong Bar, and the formation of a Bar Association like the one you are going to have is sure to help in the development of those qualities amongst the members of the Bar, which will be also reflected in course of time in the Members of the Bench when they become exclusively confined to only members of the Bar.

There is only one word more I would like to say. Reference has been made to the example of a similar association in America. There is no doubt that it is a very ennobling illustration he has given; and I can only hope that members of our Bar will devote themselves with equal zeal and devotion to the work.

Since Independence, our litigation has changed its quality. Formerly, members of the Bar used to become very rich because there used to be a lot of land litigation, litigation about big zamindaris and so forth. Now with the abolition of zamindaris and abolition of all big intermediaries, that kind of litigation has ceased. Formerly there used to be a lot of litigation in connection with land—there was a little legislation too, but more litigation. Now we have more legislation but little litigation on account of land. I think it is not a bad thing. But at the same time it adds to the responsibility and to the work both of the lawyer and of the judge because the old fiction that everyone is supposed to be in the know of the law and to be held responsible for disobeying it because he is supposed to know it, should not hold any longer because we are producing legislation on such a mass scale now that it becomes impossible for anyone to keep himself fully acquainted with the trend of new legislation, and details of course are out of question. It is, therefore, necessary all the more for those who are in a position to guide and advise the ordinary man to keep himself fully posted and up-to-date with regard to the trends of the law so that he can give them the right type of advice, and his advice should not necessarily be for winning because although it is important for a lawyer to win a case, I think he is not there for winning a case—he is there as an officer of the court, to help and assist

the court. The winning of the case is only an incidental thing. The real thing is that he has to assist the court so that the court may arrive at the correct conclusion. Since there are always lawyers on both sides, the idea is that all points of view will be placed before the court and it would be left to the court to choose which would be the best and correct view to adopt. Therefore, it does not mean that you accept that point of view or that you necessarily wish to win your case. You have always to try to help the court so that it may arrive at the right conclusion; and if that ideal inspires the members of the Bar, I have no doubt that courts also will arrive at correct conclusions in most cases, which may not be always true.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think I have transgressed upon your patience a little too much, especially on a subject on which I have no right to speak; but since you have given me the indulgence, I have taken the liberty. And with these words I wish to inaugurate the function of the Bar Association.

Judiciary : Protector of Our Constitution

AS POINTED OUT by the Chief Justice, our Constitution has recognised different bodies, which are entrusted with different kinds of work under the Constitution and the judicial function is one of the most important functions which the Constitution has entrusted to the Judiciary for the purpose of upholding the law under the Constitution. You have, I believe, a number of cases in which you have to decide between a State on the one side and a private citizen on the other. You have also quite a number of cases in which you have to interpret the wording used in the Constitution. Legislatures are concerned with the wording and you are concerned with the meaning of the words and naturally people look up to you to give the correct interpretation not only to the Constitution but to all the other laws, which are passed by the legislatures. We have now-a-days a large body of legislation, so large that it becomes difficult even for lawyers to keep pace with the growth of legislation, not to speak of laymen. You have to maintain a balance between parties and also between one State and another State.

I have no doubt that in this country our judiciary has maintained the highest traditions and today when our democracy is in its formative stages, it is absolutely necessary that the functions entrusted to the different organs

Speech at the Chief Justice's luncheon in his -honour, Hyderabad July 27, 1960.

should be discharged well and impartially. It is in the hands of the judiciary not only to enforce the rights of individuals but also to protect the Constitution itself. Cases like these arise not only occasionally but, I believe, very often. You have got also a number of writ petitions in which the interpretation of the Constitution itself is sometimes involved. Then, in this country we have got one peculiar problem which lawyers and judges in England do not have. In England there is no need for the courts to adjudicate upon the validity of the laws for there the Parliament is sovereign. But here the Judiciary is entrusted with the power to declare on the validity of the laws. Sometimes courts have to decide against the administration and sometimes the administration in order to get over the decision of courts undertakes legislation.

We have two kinds of legislatures each independent of the other. You have got Parliament on the one side and the State Legislature on the other. Each has its own field of activity and yet there are certain things in which there may be overlapping. You have often to decide whether there has been any kinds of overlapping by one on the other and whether the law which has been passed by a legislature really comes within its competence to pass it. It is on such occasions that you have to decide upon the validity of the law passed. The powers of the Parliament are unlimited and if there is overlapping or if there is any excess in the matter of the exercise of jurisdiction you have to put it right. I am mentioning all this only to show how in the formative stages of our democracy your function is of the utmost importance to the country and I hope that our judges all over the country have realised that, and they have been discharging their functions to the satisfaction of all. I have no doubt that as we gain more and more experience, many of the disputes which now call for decision by you will not arise, for in course of time all the disputed points would have been settled by decisions. In fact, you have only to bear in mind the American Constitution and to what extent the Judiciary has molded the Constitution of that country. Had it not been for the judges there, it would not have been possible for them to develop their Constitution.

The legislature may be swayed by momentary enthusiasm and Judges with their conservative outlook should play the role of a steadying force. I am quite sure that in this country you can depend upon our Judges to go ahead with social changes if necessary and at the same time to keep things within proper limits.

I am really grateful to you for giving to this opportunity of addressing you.

Unity : Our Heritage and Ideal

I AM HAPPY to be here once again, and this time, to meet such a large gathering as I see before me. I have visited these parts several times, both before independence and also since independence, and every time I have come to these parts. I have had the opportunity of meeting thousands and thousands of men and women, young and old.

We have, after a long struggle, achieved independence from foreign rule. This is the first time in our long history that we have got one government whose writ runs over this entire country, from Kanyakumari to the Himalayas. While during all these centuries we had certain social and cultural forces which bounded the whole country together, there were any number of political divisions within this Country, and while there is much that can be said against British rule, there is one thing which we owe to it and which we have inherited from it. That is one politically and administratively united India. To all the other social and cultural forces binding us together, we have today the additional force of one political set-up and one administrative set-up. We must, therefore, consider ourselves fortunate that we are the inheritors of a vast country culturally and socially united since time immemorial, but now politically and administratively also unified. This heritage has brought its own heavy responsibility to us also. While there may be points on which all may not agree, while there may be points about which there may be disagreement, there is no doubt that the country is one and it belongs to everyone of us. We have already lost two wings on our two sides which now constitute Pakistan. But the rest of the country that we have inherited is bigger than what it was at any time under one political rule. We owe it to us, we owe it to our ancestors, and even more we owe it to those who will follow us to leave this country more united and more prosperous. In the presence of this great heritage, every other consideration which will present itself to us as dividing parts and parts from one another shrinks into insignificance. We have drawn up a Constitution, not by any one group or one set of people, but by representatives of the whole country coming from every corner of it. That Constitution assures to every State within the country certain rights which cannot be taken away even by the Centre, and that Constitution assures to every State within the country the right to run its own administration in the best interests of the people within it. But while that autonomy is there on the one hand, there is also the obligation on the other hand of every State to be prepared and ready to maintain and support the entire Republic. Sometimes unfortunate happenings

in one corner or another are apt to blur our vision and to mislead us. Whatever such differences or such happenings may imply, let us be sure of one thing, that we are one as a country, we are one as a nation. It is necessary to remind ourselves of this fundamental fact because now and then we see tendencies which go the wrong way. Our Constitution gives the right to the people as a whole to run the country in the way they think best. It does not permit the Central Government to impose its will in matters not in its own jurisdiction on a State, and it equally imposes the obligation on the Centre to do whatever is required of it under the Constitution for the good and benefit of the States. So far as administrative measures are concerned which may not meet with your approval, you have the right to have them changed. That right is available to you both as against the State Government and the Central Government. You have your State Government and you have the Central Government, and both are composed of men whom you have elected. By electing them, you have given them your confidence and they are carrying out what they consider best in the interests of the country by virtue of the confidence which you have reposed in them. It is, therefore, necessary that you should realise the strength that you possess and the power that you have in your own hands. That is the power which has to be exercised but exercised with caution and with a full knowledge of the responsibility which the power by itself imposes on you also.

I have gone into this aspect of the matter at such length because I feel that in some parts and in some places a tendency is visible which does not appear to me right. The Constitution does not permit either the Centre or any of the States to establish any kind of imperialism in this country. Even if anyone is inclined to have a kind of imperialism, he dare not indulge in it and more than that, you should also realise that those who have fought imperialism are not likely to resort to it themselves.

I would, therefore, ask you, friends, to keep one thing in mind whenever you come to think of this country and that is this, that this country is one and indivisible, and it has been made indivisible not today but by nature on one side and by human effort on the other for innumerable centuries.

Since I arrived here this morning, I have visited two institutions run by the Ramakrishna Mission. It is saints like Sri Ramakrishna who have bound this country together from one end to the other. It is a very pleasant sight to see the Ramakrishna Mission working here, just as pleasant to see the math as established by Sankaracharya functioning in the north today. It is not only Sankaracharya you have given us, the people of the North, but also Ramanujacharya, Ramanand and Vallabhacharya; and it is the teachings and the lives of saints like those which have kept us together all these centuries when we passed through revolutions of a political nature from

time to time. Now that we have got added to that heritage this political unity also, it should be our foremost duty and our foremost effort to maintain this unity forever.

Criticism Compatible with Democracy

I AM VISITING this city of yours after 25 years for the second time. This period of 25 years has been a most remarkable period in the Indian history. When I visited this town in 1935, we were in the midst of our struggle for freedom. We were trying our best to prepare the country for the final non-violent struggle against the British rule.

While we were all full of hope that one day our efforts would succeed, none of us could be sure when that happy consummation would be reached. The world also was passing through a period of apparent peace. Although signs were visible that some trouble might come in some part of the world or other, no one could be then sure that war would follow soon. But only two or three years later we saw the beginning of that mighty struggle which is known as the Second World War.

The world war has brought about tremendous changes with reference to the world. As an aftermath of the war, many changes have taken place which were perhaps inconceivable at that time. Soon after the cessation of the war came negotiations between India and Great Britain and ultimately we succeeded in winning our freedom in 1947. Representatives from every part of the country then assembled to draw up a constitution for the whole country and by the time the Constitution had been completed, we were able also to integrate with India those portions of the country which were under the administrative control of Indian Princes. In 1950 when we declared ourselves a Republic, the whole country had been integrated as one country except that part which became known as Pakistan. The British had brought under their sway a large portion of the country which was directly administered by them. Yet one-third part of the country was not under the direct administrative control of the British. By wisdom, statesmanship and firm action of Sardar Patel even those portions which were under the administrative control of the Indian Princes became integrated with India. In 1950, when we declared ourselves a Republic, the whole country had become integrated under one Constitution and under one administrative control. Although the first years were years of travail and trouble on account of the partition of the country, we have since then been making the great constructive effort which is going on in the country.

Our attainment of freedom was followed by a similar attainment of freedom by many other Asian and African countries and that great process is still on and almost from month to month we hear of new countries coming up as independent States. It naturally gives us pleasure to watch these new countries coming up and we wish them all the good things of the world. In our own country our main effort has been more or less confined to the tremendous task of raising the economic level and the standard of living of the people. Sometimes in the midst of local conflicts and parochial interest we are apt to minimise this achievement which is to our credit and to that of the Republic of India. Only this morning I visited the Mettur Dam which is one of the earliest to be constructed in this country. While before the attainment of independence by us there were very limited number of big projects of this type in India, since then the whole country is dotted over with big projects and big dams and within the 12 or 13 years that have elapsed since independence, we have to the credit of the Republic a large number of big projects and larger number of efforts for the amelioration and equipment of the country than throughout the British period. I do not mean that there are no faults in administration or that we are free from every kind of blemish. There are perhaps many things which we would not like and which we should not have in this country. But, by and large, we have achieved great success in many respects and all this has been possible because there has been co-operation on the part of all concerned and because there has been foresighted planning at the Centre.

Planning has now become a part of our administration. It is not only the Central Government which is planning big projects but every State Government is also planning for amelioration of the people under its care. All these plans can succeed only if they get unstinted support and co-operation of the people at large. The difficulties that may be there have to be removed and it is in the hands of the people themselves to remove most of these difficulties.

The fundamental fact of the Constitution is that we have a Government which is the elected Government of the people and it is within the competence and power of the people to dictate their wishes to the Government which is none other than their own representative Government. I, therefore, do not need plead that there shall be no criticism. We may have criticism of the Government policy and Government programme. Without criticism the Government may go wrong. But the criticism of the measures and policies of the Government is something different from their activities. Let us make sure by every means that the unity and security of the country are the first demands on all of us and if we once assure that, the rest can be left to the good sense and powers of the people to remove

it. That is the only way in which democracy can work. We are in a sense fresh to this democracy and, therefore, we are apt sometimes to magnify things which do not need or reserve magnification. We ought always to bear in mind that fact that whatever criticism we make must be subject to the paramount necessity of keeping the country secure and keeping it free. It is necessary to emphasise this fact because we see around us, in neighbouring countries and distant countries, something different going on.

We have succeeded in maintaining our democracy through elections, and we may have our elections again, two years hence. That gives the people opportunities to express themselves about the doings and activities of the party that is in power. Therefore, no one need be over-exercised because there is criticism. Nor need we forget the paramount necessity of keeping the welfare of the country before us. You may be reading in newspapers and perhaps also hearing from speakers about incidents here and there that disturb us. While on one side we should not be exercised over this sort of happenings, on the other side we should take warning from new happenings and we should be always on the guard for the protection of our safety and freedom.

It is a matter of congratulations that while revolutions have been happening in many countries, we have, since the attainment of independence, maintained our administration functioning in good order. Our present position in the world situation and what is happening all round us is different and we should be very cautious and vigilant about our freedom and security. Throughout our long history, India has been subjected to invasion and aggression from other countries many times. But so far as I am able to see, there has never been a single instance in which India has been defeated by a foreign aggressor or foreign invader. That might appear to be an unwarranted assertion but I am sure it is not so as I would show you. Every foreigner who has come to this country has been able to secure the support of some of our own people and it was our own people who with the aid of foreigners have defeated another section of our people and thus enabled the foreigner to establish his rule here so many times. That narrow selfish motive which has subjected the country to foreign domination more than once should be guarded against. Let us develop, in our minds and hearts, love for the country as a whole. The national life should be like the individual life, sensitive to the whole country. Any harm done to any corner of the country should be regarded as harm done to the country as a whole and we should be ever ready and prepared to meet any contingency which may arise on account of any happening in any part of the country.

Now that it is for the first time after a long time that we have got one administration and one rule throughout the country, let us realise its importance and let us be ready for sacrifice, if necessary. The interest of the individual as well as the groups and regions should be sacrificed, if necessary, for the interest of the country as a whole. If we realise the importance of that duty of ours, we shall certainly have justified our right to rule ourselves. We can now devote ourselves to constructive work for improving our condition. Any experiment which could have come from outside is no longer possible. As we have got the opportunity, we have also got the responsibility to make the best use of our freedom. I can only hope and pray that the people of this vast country may prove themselves worthy of the freedom that they have achieved. I would like to end with an appeal to each one of you, to each man and woman of the country as a whole, to be prepared for the service of the motherland. If we once make up our minds, the country will go from strength to strength and it will be impossible for anyone to cast an evil eye on us. Each one of us has his part to play in this matter. May we have strength to fulfil the high hopes which the country has of our people at large! Let this enthusiasm which you have shown in welcoming a man whom you have elected as the President be preserved for the service of this great country!

Need to Preserve Underlying Unity of India

IT IS REALLY a rare thing for me to have to address legislators except those who sit in Parliament. Under the Constitution, I am required to address them at least once every year and so I do that. But as you all know, my address is mine only in name and I do not get any other opportunity of addressing legislators even in Delhi. I am therefore, thankful that you have given me this opportunity of having not exactly a speech but some sort of heart to heart talk on some matters which appear to me to be of paramount importance at the present moment in our life.

It is only thirteen years just now that we attained independence and three years later we declared ourselves a Republic. Within those two to three years we were able to frame a Constitution which covers the whole of the country. Before actual independence, when the British decided to give us independence, they left the country in a very much divided condition. Apart from the great problem of Pakistan and the division of India on that

account, we had more than 500 States, each run by its own ruler in his own way and then there was a big chunk of the country which was under the rule of the British. Before leaving, they gave freedom to all the States from the obligations which they owed under various treaties and so it was open to every State either to become independent or to join India or Pakistan. It must be said to the credit of the rulers that most of them decided even before independence was given, to join India and one or two who were left behind for the time being also came in later. And today, or rather even before we were able to draw up the Constitution as a whole, the whole of the then Indian India had become a part of the rest of India. It was really a great thing on the part of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that within those two years, while we were busy preparing details of the Draft Constitution, he was busy inducing the princes to join practically unconditionally and to become part of India, and it was really a great thing that they all decided to merge themselves and to merge their States in India so that we were able to draft a Constitution which covered not only that part of it which was formerly under direct British rule, but also those areas which were under the Indian princes. And so when we got a Constitution, we divided the whole country into a number of States. Later on there have been changes with regard to the boundary of these States, and now I do not think there is any State which can be said to be a descendant of one of the Indian States in entirety, Either they have been broken up and joined to different States or they have joined to themselves some other portions of other States, and thus they have become a sort of independent States within the Indian Constitution without having any geographical relation to the old States except that they formed part of them, In this way, we have succeeded in bringing the country under one Constitution, under one rule.

And now we have this great advantage that over this whole area, there is one Parliament whose writ runs throughout the country. There is one Central Government which has authority and jurisdiction over many subjects with regard to the whole country. Of course the States have got exclusive jurisdiction on many points of great importance. But on the whole the country is now run as one State, and you can call it a unitary State or a unitary federal unitary State or a unitary federal State whatever you can like to call it. So that we have achieved something which was never achieved before by any ruler of this country in history. We had big emperors like Ashoka who had a great part of the country under their dominion. We had also the Mughal emperors who had ruled over a great part of the country; but none of them could claim that their rule extended over the whole country. What happened was that there were local rulers who owed allegiance to them and each expressed his allegiance in some form or other

by paying some tribute which in most cases was a nominal tribute, and according to the Hindu custom, a Raja whose writ could go through the whole country without obstruction was called a Chakravarty, whose chakra could go throughout the country without obstruction and the Mughals also had their own subas or divisions where subedars were more or less independent of the Central Government and owed only nominal allegiance to them. It is for the first time now that we have got this political unity. Of course we have had a history which is as old as the country itself, in which the geographical entity known as India has been recognised as one separate entity right from the Himalayas down to the Cape bounded on both sides, east and west, by the sea. This chunk of territory has always been regarded as one indivisible country although there have been separate States within it, but culturally and also by religion the whole country was one. Later on when other religions came, even then the country as a whole did not cease to be one entity. It continued to be one country but not politically. Now that cultural unity has the added advantage political and administrative unity. Therefore, the field of our activity is now very much vaster than it was at any time before. The opportunities are also very much greater than they were present under any other ruler in history in this country. The responsibilities therefore, are also correspondingly greater than they ever were under the rulers. We have a great responsibility which we owe to ourselves, which we owe to our ancestors and even more to those who will follow us to maintain and strengthen that unity so that there may be at no time any danger to it. Dangers, there are. We need not ignore them or minimize them. There are dangers from outside and there may be dangers also inside. Our own fissiparous tendencies have got to be concured and they manifest themselves on the slightest occasion even without any sufficient cause, which causes anxiety to all lovers of the country. Some kind of difference between one group and another creates trouble, which is far more serious than it really looks if we look at the cause of it and the motive behind it. But we have no reason to be pessimistic, and, all that is wanted is that we should be cautious and careful and we should not be complacent in that we have succeeded in winning freedom and, therefore, we are perfectly safe to do whatever we like and we may not attend to small matters because the country is now free. I think it is up to us, to everyone of us, to whatever part of the country one belongs, to be always cautious and careful in his words and deeds and in his attitude towards others, whether they are close next-door neighbours or they are distant brothers, anyone thousand or two thousand miles away. But we have to acquire the habit of treating everyone as brother and sister and not only treating them outwardly so but to have that sincere feeling that we have brothers and sisters all over the country.

Mr. Cherian was good enough to mention the earthquake of Bihar. That was a very great calamity for a small part of the country. It was a small part of the country after all. But I was really happy not because of the disaster, but because of the sympathy it evoked through-out the country, and it was my good fortune to receive donations in money and in kind from each corner of the country for the relief of the sufferers there. That heartened me and that held out to me the hope that in this country we have begun to realise that if we prick a pin in some portion of the toe, it is not only the toe which suffers but even the brain which gets affected by the prick, so that a calamity which happened in one corner of the country roused the sympathy and support of the whole country. That kind of feeling should be developed so that whether it is a matter of joy or of sorrow, we should all be happy or sorrowful together, and unless we develop that kind of genuine sympathy and love for the country as a whole, things are bound to occur which will upset us now and then. It is only a firm realization of that kind of fellow-feeling and oneness of the different parts of the country which will enable us to keep our heads cool when trouble arises here or there, by some mistake, by some chance or by the folly of someone or the misdeed of someone. It is the one thing which I have felt necessary to emphasise at this moment, and I have been repeating this, I think in all the speeches I have been delivering in these parts, and that is because I feel that it is really important to emphasise it at the present moment.

We have, as you all know, had several plans and these plans are expected to bear fruit and benefit different parts of the country. Of course, it cannot be said that each part of the country, each little corner of the country is benefited by each plan. That is not possible. But the idea is to reach as much as possible, as many places as possible, and it cannot be done at one time. In successive plans, we are trying to go as far as possible. The plans are expected to raise the standard of living and we are all hoping that we shall be able to see the results better and more full as time passes. Even as it is, I do not think there is any reason to be pessimistic or to be apologetic about these plans. We have had good success so far as we have gone and we have not yet achieved full results because we are just in the process and it takes some time for these plans to bear fruit. We are getting some fruits but not all the fruits, and in course of time all these plans will bring us more fruits and so in that way, so far as our economic conditions are concerned, we are hoping that we shall go on improving. There are of course difficulties at the present moment. We have great difficulty about food. It is really an absolute necessity for anybody and especially in our country with a rising population and with not much land left for extending our cultivation, we have to depend more and more on intensive cultivation,

and for that purpose whatever is considered necessary and possible should be adopted and should be supported by all right-thinking people of the country. Of course there are other difficulties too: but I do not wish to dwell on those because my one idea is that so far as these things are concerned, we are on the road and we shall gradually move and move with all the experience which we are gaining and with all the knowledge which we are getting from other countries and the way in which other countries are progressing and also realising the fruits of our own plans. We can go on making more and more progress. But what I fear and what I wish to emphasise is this, that with all this material prosperity we shall not be able to make our people quite happy. In this country at any rate we have learnt from time immemorial that after all happiness does not consist only in getting more material wealth and more material possessions, it is something which is beyond all these and above these, and one thing we cannot forget is that in spite of poverty and in spite of all the sufferings which our people have had to undergo, they have never lost hope or faith. They have always had a smile on their faces. Even the poorest man, who did not have much clothing on the body, still wears a smile on his face. That is because from his earliest times, he has been brought up in an atmosphere of feeling contented with what he has, and so long as we continue to possess that great quality of remaining contented and remaining happy even if we are in trouble, we shall be able to make progress more and more.

Of course, it is said on the other side that this kind of contentment only leads to misery and poverty. But I do not personally believe that. Of course, I do not feel that misery necessarily consists in poverty or anything else, but misery consists in what we feel; and with the feeling that we have done our best and must now endure whatever comes, we shall be able to make ourselves happy even if we are in difficulty. Not that we should remain in poverty and destitution. We wish to progress materially; we wish to have more and more good things of the world; but side by side with these things, I think we should not neglect and ignore the fundamental teachings of our culture and religion, whether it is Islamic religion or the Christian religion or the Hindu religion. Of course, in one respect they are all agreed that there can be no contentment only by possessing outward things, by possessing material goods. So what I sometimes wonder at is that we very often complain that we are doing so much, we are doing this and that for the people and still we are not getting good response from them. My own reading of the situation is that we have not approached them from that angle. If side by side with our programmes and material prosperity we could also link in some way the great cultural heritage of ours to remain contented with what we have although striving always for more, we would

find, I suppose, better contentment and certainly we shall find people devoting themselves perhaps even more because now-a-days this race for material prosperity in its worst form comes only to this—get more, work less. But on the other hand, if we had that spiritual background, this would be—do more whether we get or not; and that I think is the only thing which in a country like India will serve and it is not a sadhu's or yogi's aphorism. It is I think purely a worldly man's reading of our own culture and our own life: and I feel that it is up to us, especially to those of you who are occupying the position of representatives of the people, to carry to them this message also along with this spiritual heritage.

I do not know if I should take more of your time and I am not sure whether I have not loaded you with things which really do not matter; but I felt here I should not miss this opportunity of mentioning these things to you.

No Imposition of Hindi

I WAS GLAD to see quite a large number of you this morning at the time of the parade. That was a formal and ceremonial occasion. I am happy to meet you once again in the evening in a somewhat informal way. You will permit me to share with you some of the thoughts which are agitating my mind.

I have been called to a high office by the people of this country. We have by and large adopted the Constitution of England for our country. That constitution gives me a position which is very high, with great honour but without responsibility. Although every action of the Government is taken in my name, I do not have the responsibility for all that is done either by the Government at the Centre or in the States. That does not mean that I have nothing to do and I am holding only a sinecure office. It places me in the happy position from which I can view the actions of the Government all over the country from a detached position; and from that position I try to go round the country and see things for myself.

We have adopted a democratic system of government for our country; and of the democratic systems which are prevalent in the world, we have adopted largely the British model. As you all know, the British Constitution is very largely an unwritten Constitution. Much of it is governed by conventions which have acquired the force of law in course of time. We have, on the other hand, adopted a written Constitution. But do not be

scared away by the idea that we are completely rigid on account of a written Constitution. We have the flexibility of the British unwritten Constitution also along with our written Constitution. What I feel is this, that in this country we should develop the conventions which go with democracy in England, and those conventions govern not only the governments but also the people. The elected representative is as much governed by these conventions as the electors themselves. The members of the Government and the party which is in the majority are governed by these conventions as much as the members of the Opposition. Each has his rights, but even more than the rights, each has his obligations and responsibilities. We are sometimes apt to ignore the duties and responsibilities, and to insist too much on the rights.

In my wanderings, I have seen most parts of the country more than once, and if I say anything which you do not like please do not think that I am referring to you. That is because there are tendencies and there are signs which need to be studied and which need also to be remedied if possible. Tendencies are visible in all directions which indicate that we have not completely understood our obligations to the country. In many places we find that the feeling of regionalism gets the better of every other feeling. In other places we find that the feeling of casteism gets the better of other kinds of feeling. We also notice that provincial feeling sometimes takes us off our feet. And last but not the least, linguism is another subject which makes us wild.

While we have all the States with their own peculiarities, with their own specialities and with their own personalities we have got the Indian nation as a whole which comprises all the States and all the personalities of the States. While, therefore, our Constitution provides for the fullest development of each State in its own way, in its own personality, it also provides that they will all work together so that the country as a whole may grow and prosper. Therefore, every State has two-fold responsibilities. On the one hand it has its responsibility to the Central Government. On the other, it has its responsibility equally to its own minorities, to its own groups: and the State can prosper only if it can realise its responsibility in both these respects fully. Taking the responsibilities of the State to itself, we have to consider how it treats the minorities within it. There are places where the caste plays havoc, and the provisions of the Constitution which are intended for the service of all, are sometimes used for the purpose of groups. Groups may be either religious groups or may be caste groups or they may be linguistic groups. It is, therefore necessary that each State should realise its responsibilities to each of these groups. While it is necessary that the language of the State, that is to say, of the majority of the people, must have its due place in the administration and in educational matters of

the State, it is equally necessary that those who constitute a minority within the State, the linguistic minority, should also feel quite safe within the State.

We have had some very unfortunate happenings within recent times. Very largely perhaps. I do not know the facts fully to be able to say with certainty, but perhaps very largely at the bottom of these happenings were linguistic considerations of a narrow type. There might have been also something about services. We have, therefore, to be always very careful and cautious that none of these things should give cause for trouble to anyone. Our Constitution as well as our administrative orders have guaranteed even to small minorities the protection of the language, so that the children may be educated, at any rate in the primary stages, in their own mother-tongue, if there is a sufficient number of them demanding education in any particular language. Similarly, in services also, regard has to be had so that everyone gets his full share in them. But in this connection we must remember that after all government service is not the only source of employment. With the development of our industries more and more equal attention should be directed towards them and less and less dependence on government service will become possible. Until that stage is reached, it has to be seen that no one has a grievance because he belongs to a minority group, and certainly no one should have a grievance regarding admission to institutions because he belongs to a minority group.

So much about the duty of a State to its own citizens. But the State has its duty to the Centre also. About that we have provisions in the Constitution laying down the duties as well as the rights and responsibilities of the States and the Centre.

As the question of language has been agitating the minds of many people, I would like to refer to it in some detail. Even while we were engaged in the struggle for freedom, Mahatma Gandhi realised that we shall have to solve the question of the language of the country. We have so many languages which are spoken in different parts of the country; and because we felt that each language deserves to be developed to its fullest extent, in the very first session of the Congress over which we had control we got the Constitution of the Congress amended. It was in the Congress of December 1920 at Nagpur that linguistic provinces were created for the Congress. And even in States which had more than one language, there were several Congress provinces. Those of you who are old enough to remember those events will know that even in this State you had the Tamil language, you had the Telugu language, you had also in parts of it the Malayalam language, and also the Kanarese language. There was one administrative province, but the Congress had several provinces within it.

Similarly, in the Bombay province, we had not only Marathi and Gujarati but we had also Kanarese; and the Congress had several provinces within that State as well.

So the idea of linguistic provinces is not a fad of the present Government. The idea of linguistic provinces was given by Mahatma Gandhi and it was only fulfilled by the present Government by legislation. The idea behind the linguistic provinces is to enable the languages of the various provinces to develop to the fullest extent. The Constitution has provided for it and we want each province to develop its own language to the fullest extent possible. Even our seats of learning which are very conservative in this respect are now gradually coming to recognise the place of the Indian languages in their curricula. Many of them have already adopted partially, the State languages as media of instruction in their respective areas, and although it cannot be said today that all the universities have adopted the regional languages as the media of instruction to the highest standard, the day is not far distant when they will have to adopt them.

Not only in the field of education, but also in the field of administration, the provincial languages have to find their place; and while at the lowest levels of the administration the provincial languages have always been used, they are now being largely used in the higher rungs also; and the day is not distant when they will be used exclusively in all the administrative matters within each State. This was exactly what Mahatma Gandhi intended.

But Gandhiji also thought of a language for the whole country, and naturally he thought of Hindi. I say naturally because he saw that it was spoken by a very large number of people, larger than those speaking any other language. When people talk of Hindi imperialism, I sometimes wonder what they mean. The idea of introducing Hindi as an all-India language has not emanated from any Hindi-speaking person. There have been two persons in Northern India who have been responsible for the spread of Hindi as an all-India language. Hindi was not the language of either of the two. In the seventies of the last century, Swami Dayanand realised that if he wanted to spread his own form of Hinduism, he must resort to Hindi. You may not know, he did not come from any Hindi-speaking province. He came from Kathiawar. And some fifty years later, Mahatma Gandhi took up the same work. He also did not belong to a Hindi-speaking province. Although in the later days of his life he was speaking Hindi fluently and addressing large meetings in Hindi, I remember the days when he was very very faltering and he was unable to talk fluently in Hindi. Even in South Africa, he had conceived the idea that Hindi alone could be the language for the whole of India for communication with one another. Even there he had been addressing

people, including Tamilian, in his own broken Hindi. And when he came to Champaran in 1917, he was just able to speak a few words. But he was above all a practical person. He, therefore, told us that he would not insist upon his Hindi but would talk to us in English and listen to our English; and much of the work that we did there was conducted through the medium of English. That was because he felt the work was more important at that time and, therefore, he must take resort to English. Not that he had given up the idea of having Hindi as an all-India language for all-India purposes. Even from there he sent his dear son and Swami Satyadev to Madras to spread Hindi; and the foundations of the Hindi Prachar Sabha were laid then, not by a Hindi-speaking man but by Mahatma Gandhi and his son.

You have, therefore, no reason to think that it is the Hindi-speaking people who are trying to impose any language on you. We are as practical as, I hope, Mahatma Gandhi. And just as he agreed to conduct the work in English because he considered work important, we are conducting our work in English even now. And it has been authoritatively stated that we shall continue to do that so long as you wish us to do it. But may I put one thing to you? You expect us to respect your feelings, and we do. We do not want to impose anything on you. Not even an Indian language. Please do not impose on us a foreign language. I have, therefore, no fear that the time will come when no one will have any reason to complain that anything has been forced on him. I am sure just as we are respecting your feelings, you will respect the feelings of others also, and we are determined not to impose Hindi on you and you will also relax and not impose English on us.

So far as education is concerned, I think Hindi is also spreading very fast in these parts. I believe more people have learnt Hindi in these parts than English. Hindi Prachar has served at least 70 lakhs of men and women in these parts. Some 15 lakhs have sat at its examinations. I do not know how many people have passed the English examinations. I do not wish to embarrass you by asking how many of you know English and how many of you know Hindi.

I wish the people of the North also realised their responsibilities in these matters. I have a feeling that if they had left the question of Hindi to be solved by the South Indians, we would have made greater progress by now. The way in which Hindi has been adopted and accepted as a matter of study has encouraged in me the hope that you will adopt Hindi for other purposes also, and I want the people of the North to realise that they cannot do anything according to their own wishes without consulting and without acquiring the consent of the people in the South. After all, it is one of the fundamentals of the Constitution that the wishes of the minority must be

respected. But it is only for administrative purposes that we want Hindi or other Indian languages to be studied. It is necessary that the different parts of the country should understand each other much better than they do today; and the way to the hearts of the people is through their language. I am a Hindi-speaking man, but I had the good fortune of receiving my education in Bengal, in Calcutta and I picked up a little Bengali then. Some years ago when I was invited to Calcutta to deliver the convocation address I spoke in my own broken Bengali. I do not imagine there was anything very valuable in what I said. But it had one great advantage-it reached the hearts of the Bengalis.

I want the people of the North to study the languages of the South. It will be through their languages that they will be able to reach their hearts. It is not possible for everyone to learn so many languages. But it is possible to translate from one language to another from different parts of the country, and that can be done only if people study the other languages. More than that it is necessary that people should travel through the country, and I do not want them to travel and talk in English. Well, so long as you cannot talk in Hindi, you had better talk in your own language when you come to us and it should be our look-out to get translators to interpret you to our general public. Although, I could have got many persons from amongst you who could have translated my speech into Tamil if I had spoken in Hindi, I have not done so. That is out of respect for you. I was really afraid that you might charge me with imperialism, if I did so. All our lives we have fought imperialism. Please do not imagine that at the fag end of my life I would be guilty of imperialism of any kind.

I am afraid I have strayed from the subject I wanted to discuss. But the real point is that we want unity in the country. Provincial feeling, caste feeling, linguistic feeling should all be made subservient to the feeling of the country, and I am quite sure that the feeling of patriotism will dictate to you the adoption of Hindi in due course; and I can tell my North Indian friends that when you take to Hindi, they must beware that they will be defeated in examinations. Even those who are thinking of services in the Centre, should not despair. You have defeated the Englishman in English, and I have no doubt you will defeat the Hindi-speaking man also in Hindi. Therefore, there is no fear for anyone who wants to go in for service. But so long as that fear subsists, however unfounded it may be, we have to respect it.

I would ask you in all seriousness to think of the country, and wherever you see any fissiparous tendency, just try to plug it there.

Duty First

I NEED HARDLY tell you how grateful I am for the honour which you have conferred upon me by admitting me as a member of the Bar here. I appreciate this honour all the more because I am conscious of the fact that for forty years I have been out of touch with the Bar altogether; and within this long period I am not conscious that I have done any particular service to the Bar or to any of you here in particular. But I am sure that in the decision which you have taken to admit me as one of you, the principal consideration has been to show honour to the post which I hold and which I occupy at present, and it is nothing particular in me which has in any way induced you to confer this honour upon me. That is also one of the reasons why I easily accepted this honour.

You have been good enough to refer in the address which you have just delivered to the fact that we have adopted a democratic constitution for our country and that we are following the democratic way of life in conducting the administration of our country. It is a fact that I was associated with the drawing up of the Constitution, and if there are any faults or loopholes or drawbacks in it, I may be supposed to be more conscious of them than anybody else. I am not going to disclose any secret which is not perhaps already known to those who have followed the proceedings of the Vidhan Sabha that I was rather disappointed with one thing in our Constitution. I mentioned it at the time before the Constituent Assembly but they were not able to remedy it. You gentlemen, both members of the Bar and members of the Bench, are engaged from day to day, from hour to hour, in interpreting the laws which are prepared by our legislatures. The courts have the advantage of skilled lawyers to assist them in coming to decisions and the members of the court themselves are highly trained and skilled people who are in a position to interpret the law and to give decisions correctly on facts and on law as presented before them. Unfortunately, those who make the law are not possessed of any particular qualifications except that they have been able to get the support of a large number of men, more or less equally ignorant. I pointed this out at the time when the Constitution was under consideration, but unfortunately we were not able to find any remedy for it for two reasons. One reason was that it was difficult to lay down any conditions which a candidate for election to a legislature could be expected to fulfil. We looked for such guidance as we could get from the Constitutions of other countries, but we were not able to get any guidance in that line anywhere, and we ourselves were not able to

find anything which would satisfy not only the members of the Constituent Assembly but the country at large, and particularly those who were likely to be candidates and those also perhaps who were to vote for them. It was, therefore, that we were not able to lay down any conditions. But there was another reason also and that reason—you gentlemen of the Bar and members of the Bar can appreciate better—was that we did not find any precedent for that kind of thing, and as in all matters of law and Constitution, we are guided very largely by precedents. We did not feel competent to take a new leaf and to introduce a new thing on our own in our Constitution, and the result is that our Constitution, like so many other Constitutions, does not lay down any particular qualification for those who are to be members of the legislatures, who are entrusted with the duty of framing the laws which skilled people have to interpret and which skilled people have to assist in interpreting.

I do not know the result. As yet, it is difficult to say whether it has been satisfactory or not because our experience has been only of a short duration, and we have had only two General Elections in which people had to stand as candidates and others had to vote them to the legislatures. The work of the legislatures has been for the last ten or eleven years only, and it is difficult to say at this stage whether you can give any definite opinion about the quality of the work of the members of legislatures. But my own feeling has still continued that it would have been better if we had introduced some qualifications for candidates to be elected to legislatures.

Another question which sometimes troubles me with regard not only to the Constitution but to law generally is also derived from the system which we have followed and which we are following even now. When we were engaged in our struggle for attaining independence, naturally we laid emphasis on the rights of the people and we did not much care for the duties which would devolve on them when they got independence. I think we have still the background of that continuing with us and we are even now more conscious of our rights than of our duties. Even in the courts and in the laws, what we lay down is not the duty but the right. Duty comes in only in a negative way as infringement of a right which should not be infringed. So duty comes in only in that round about way and it is emphasis on the right which is responsible for all the quarrels which are not only to be seen between individuals but also between nations today. It is the insistence upon what you have to get rather than insistence upon what you have to give. This has brought about all the present day quarrels in our society and in political as well as other matters, and in other countries too. I sometimes wonder if in India where in the past we laid more emphasis on giving than on taking, more emphasis on duty than on right, we may not give a lead to other countries in this respect. But for that purpose we have to adopt it in

our own life, and unless we do that in our own life, we cannot expect anybody else to follow us. Even in our own country we need this to be emphasized because everywhere you see everyone is clamouring for something which he has not got so that others may give it to him and he may not have to give to others in return and if he is to give anything, it is only by the way and is only a secondary consideration, the primary consideration is the taking. I do not know how it will be possible to introduce that in our legal system because the whole of our legal system at the present moment is merely a definition of rights. Even our Constitution does not lay down any fundamental duties. It lays down only fundamental rights of individuals as if rights can exist by themselves without duties. My own idea is that if duties are fulfilled, the rights will take care of themselves. It is only duties which require enforcement and which should be given prominent position in our legal system as well as in our Constitution. But guided as we are by other Constitutions and by other modes of thought which we have taken from other countries, we have not been able to take that view and that is one of my regrets. I feel that some day someone will arise who will have a voice strong enough to raise this point and to make our people consider this aspect of our political and legal question.

There is hardly any department of our life where duty does not require to be reinforced. We see today any amount of indiscipline—I am not talking of indiscipline among students because this has been talked about often—I am talking about indiscipline generally and a general laxity in our way of doing things which arise from the fact that we do not fully realise the duty which we owe, say if we are in service, to the employer; if we are doing something by way of trade, to the people with whom we have commerce dealings; and in that way, in every walk of life and department of life, there is such an amount of laxity which we notice and such laxity—it is my own impression—is due very largely to an inadequate appreciation of our sense of duty to others.

I am, therefore, conscious of one other defect in our Constitution, that it lays so much emphasis on our rights—may be fundamental rights—and hardly has anything been specifically said about the duties which we owe to one another. Even in such a matter which is so obvious as the defence of the country; there is no duty cast on anyone in so many words anywhere in the Constitution. In another obvious thing like peace, it is not a duty cast on the people but a right is given to government to enforce so that peace is not disturbed. The duty of the ordinary citizen, of the man in the street, is not stressed; but if that were done, I think probably much of the effort that is done for enforcing right will take a different shape.

I thought speaking before a body of lawyers—I did not know what to say specially on an occasion like this—I might draw your attention to these one or two thoughts which struck me when I was coming here, and I have taken liberty of mentioning them to you. As I said I do not know how to thank you for the honour which you have done me, which I appreciate very much.

Powers and Functions of the President

JUST NEARLY THREE years ago I had the pleasure and the privilege to formally inaugurate the academic work of the Indian Law Institute and today I am here to lay the foundation-stone of the building in which the Institute will be housed. The President of the Institute who is no other than the Chief Justice of India has explained to us the progress that the Institute has made and the work that it has accomplished within this period. We are all much pleased and interested to know the success so far attained and we look forward to further and greater success and achievement in future. It is a matter of congratulations that the Institute has been able to enlist the cooperation of many lawyers whether practitioners, judges or jurists in its work and that encourages the hope that its future will be as fruitful as the past has been. I need hardly express on your behalf as well as mine the gratefulness of the Institute to the Government for the piece of land it has allotted and the grant of Rs.5 lakhs which it has made for the building of the Institute. It is indicative of the measure of interest the Government takes in the Institute and its activities. The Institute may well count on such support as it may need from the Government in the future.

It is essential that an Institute like the Indian Law Institute should have a house of its own. It was undoubtedly comfortably located in rooms generously allotted by the Supreme Court for the purpose but the need for independent premises of its own was always felt and it is only in the fitness of things that that need should be fulfilled and a suitable house, well-furnished and well-equipped with a library and other things necessary for such an Institute, be provided.

This is perhaps the third occasion when I have been given the privilege of addressing the Institute. As you have permitted me on previous occasions to speak on some matter or other connected with your activities, I may take the liberty of putting forward a suggestion for study and investigation by the Institute.

Our Constitution is a comparatively new constitution. It is based largely on the model of the British Constitution. As such it has a history if not an ancestry which may well go back, to centuries. It is being worked, I venture to presume, successfully and to the satisfaction of all concerned although within the short period of 10 years it has had to undergo no less than seven amendments. As I have stated, the Constitution is very largely founded on the British Constitution. There are certain differences which are obvious. The British Constitution is a unitary constitution in which the Parliament is supreme having no other authority sharing its power of legislation except such as may be delegated. Our Constitution is a federal constitution in which the powers and functions of the Union Parliament and the State Legislatures are clearly defined and the one has no power or right to encroach upon the rights and powers reserved to the other. The Head of the State, in the British Constitution, is a Monarch and the Crown descends according to the rules of heredity. In India, the Head of the State is an elected President who holds office for a term and can be removed for misconduct in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. It is generally believed, that like the Sovereign of Great Britain the President of India is also a constitutional head and has to act according to the advice of his Council of Ministers. The executive power of the Union is vested in the President and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the Constitution. The Supreme Command of the Defence forces of the Union is also vested in him and the exercise, thereof, shall be regulated by law. There are in the Articles of the Constitution many provisions, which lay down specific duties and functions of the President. The question which I should like to be studied and investigated is the extent to which and the matters in respect of which, if any, the powers and functions of the President differ from those of the Sovereign of Great Britain. Further, it may also be considered if the procedure by which the President is elected and is liable to be removed or impeached introduces any difference, constitutionally speaking, between the President and the British Monarch. Generally, what are the points in respect of which the powers and functions of the two are the same and what are the points if any and the extent to which they differ? In this connection, it may be pointed out that there is no provision in the Constitution which in so many words lays down that the President shall be bound to act in accordance with the advice of his Council of Ministers. The relation between the President and his Ministers is laid down in Articles 74 and 75. Article 74 lays down that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister

at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by Ministers to the President shall not be inquired into in any court. Article 75 lays down that the Prime Minister shall be appointed by the President and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Ministers shall hold office during the pleasure of the President and the Council of Ministers shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People. Other provisions may be said to be subsidiary or ancillary to these provisions. The question which has to be investigated is how far these and other provisions go towards making the functions and powers of the President identical with those of the Monarch of Great Britain.

In this connection, a wider question of much importance is, how far we are entitled to invoke and incorporate into our written Constitution by interpreting the conventions of the British Constitution which is an unwritten constitution. All this will necessarily involve a consideration of the question—how far the words and expressions used in our Constitution shall be treated as words and expressions of art which have a meaning attached to them, which is fixed and which is not necessarily the literal meaning of those expressions. This is necessary in view of the fact that our conditions and problems are not on par with the British and it may not be desirable to treat ourselves as strictly bound by interpretations which have been given from time to time to expressions in England. We have got used to relying on precedents of England to such an extent that it seems almost sacrilegious to have a different interpretation even if our conditions and circumstances might seem to require a different interpretation. I do not think it is necessary for me to formulate the problem precisely or in definite terms. I hope I have given indication of the questions which I have in my mind and I leave it to the Institution to define more precisely the scope of the investigation so that more or less precise answers may be formulated. I may add that in making this suggestion I do not have any particular question in view, much less any incident. I put forward this subject purely as a subject of study and investigation in a scientific manner so that we may know exactly what the scope of the powers and functions of the President is.

I can only hope that I have not transgressed on your patience or exceeded the limits of my functions here this afternoon to which you have so kindly invited me. I need hardly assure you that I value my contacts with you and I am deeply conscious of the honour you have done me.

Setting an Example for Others

THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE Service, like the old Indian Civil Service, is intended to take up all kinds of work in the districts as well as in the State Governments, and therefore, the training that you must be receiving here must necessarily be of a general character, and I suppose for any specialized work, you will have to take further training when you go to the districts. I know that in the former days young officers used to be attached to experienced officers in the districts, and for some time they worked under Magistrates thus watching the proceedings in courts, and for some time they worked in offices thus watching how files are dealt with, and then for a pretty long time they used to go about in villages and to get training in camps there so that they might know particularly the revenue work which used to be done largely in villages. Now-a-days, you have got added to these quite a number of other things which were non-existent in the olden days. All our nation-building work now, I suppose, takes up a lot of time of the officials in the districts and therefore, their training has to be much more detailed as well as much more extensive, that is to say, they have to know a number of things which were not required to be known or studied by the old ICS people, and then they are required further to have a deeper study of those things and of many other things. Therefore, the work now is very much more difficult and more widespread, and more interesting also—more interesting because you have to deal with human beings from day to day, and every action of yours will somehow or other come in contact with other people who are placed in your charge. You have, therefore, to carry with you not only knowledge but also a will to serve them, and I think that is needed more than anything else. It is easy enough to sit in an office and dispose of papers, passing orders for others to carry on, but it is much more difficult to implement a decision which has been taken either by yourself or by somebody else and to give practical effect to any decision which has been taken. It is more difficult. Take, for example, an ordinary thing—you have to establish a panchayat in a village. It is not a very difficult thing, but it requires a great deal of experience. You must find out the right type of man to be put in charge, you have to see to it that he does his work not only honestly but also efficiently, and the true criteria of honesty and efficiency have to be applied not only to others who serve under you, but to every action of your own. That I think is the great need of the country today.

You must be reading newspapers and it is not necessary for me to point out that there is a lot of criticism of our-present officials. Some of it

* Address to I.A.S. Probationers, New Delhi, January 4, 1961.

may be exaggerated, some of it fully unjustified, but there is no doubt that there may be some part of it which is quite justified. And to meet all such criticism is not to find out a reply to any question which has been raised or any point which has been raised how to meet it, but really to see to it that the ground on which the objection has been taken does not exist in fact, that is to say, to remove the particular grievance which is the object of the complaint, and not only satisfy yourself and try to satisfy your superiors by pointing out reasons why it should not be done and it could not be done, but to do the right thing. That is the best way to meet all kinds of criticism.

I suggest to you, as young officers in the first place, when you go just to get yourselves thoroughly acquainted with the practical work that you have to do and also to get yourself very thoroughly acquainted with the people amongst whom you have to work. These are the two things, to know the business and to know the people. If you get both these in hand, you will be able to go a great way in effectively discharging your duties.

Even now, your service is regarded as a prize service in the country; it is supposed to be the best service in the country and rightly because it has got prospects and it has got also an assured life for you; and if you can manage your affairs well, for your children. That being so, you have to see that you give the best that is in you to the country and do it as well as you can. When you think of this, you have to depend not only upon the minimum that is required of you, but to find out the best that you can render, the best that you can give. The minimum can be easily done, but that is not good enough. What is good enough is the best that one can do and not the least that one is expected to do or that one should do under the circumstances.

These are some of the ideas which have come to my mind when I think of young people going in service. At the present moment we have got these various projects—the Five Year Projects and various projects under the Five Year Plans and also various projects, big and small, according to the locality where you are posted. There may be educational projects, there may be projects for activating the industrial potentiality of the place and so on, and whatever comes your way, you have to see that you do the best that you can in that line.

There are many things in which you will find yourself not quite up to date. Well, that does not matter. I do not think it is disqualification to confess that you do not know a particular thing. The difficulty comes in when you say that you know a thing while actually not knowing it. But if you are prepared to admit that you do not know a particular thing and you have to acquire the knowledge of it or the qualification for it, there will be no question about it. The only thing then will be that you will have to acquire that

knowledge and that qualification so that you may discharge your duty. Therefore, you should not be ashamed of owning mistakes if you commit any, as is not unlikely. Everyone does commit mistakes and there is nothing to be ashamed of in that. But when you have committed a mistake and you know that mistake has been committed, then you will have to rectify the mistake. That is what is really needed, which you cannot avoid. Knowing that mistakes have been committed, if you persist, then there will be difficulty. That has to be avoided. So, whether you are sitting in a court in a judicial capacity disposing of cases of individuals or State against individuals or whether you are sitting in an office disposing of a petition, or sitting in another position where you have to direct duties of a judicial capacity disposing of cases of individuals or State against may have to do, you have to do it with zest, with enthusiasm and with integrity.

There is nothing more that I could say which would be of use to you if you do not have these. But if you have these, then you need not worry. Things will take care of themselves.

Friends, I think I have talked much, and in the course of your training all this and much more must have been told to you and you must have gained some experience also in these things. But since you are young, I thought I had better give you some of my own experiences and my own ideas so that you could, if you so like, derive some benefit from my experiences and my knowledge.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Kurukshetra : Reminder of a Lofty Tradition

I AM GLAD to have been able to come here to lay the foundation stone of the Kurukshetra University on the kind invitation of the Chancellor. This University is going to be somewhat different from other universities in the country. Here special emphasis will be laid on the study of Sanskrit and other Indian languages and an effort will be made to familiarise the students of the University with ancient knowledge and currents of thought so that in the light of that and in keeping with the present-day conditions they may mould their thinking and behaviour in day-to-day life. This object, which is actually quite simple and worth striving for, might appear obtruse to some. The inability of a section of the people to grasp it springs from an impression that there are basic contradictions between the ancient and modern currents of thought. Such an impression is groundless.

The modern world has no doubt made great strides in the fields of science, industrialisation and technology, and seeing from this particular angle the people of 2,000 years ago would appear to be far behind as compared to the moderners. But so far as thinking, education, love of art, creative writing, the achievement of happiness in life, the way of living peacefully, etc. are concerned, I do not think the modern man has made any remarkable advance over his earlier precursor. Be that as it may, it has to be admitted that in this direction man has not sufficiently progressed to turn his back upon ancient thought and its achievements with any justification. Many scholars and present-day thinkers are of the view that there are elements in ancient thought which go to supplement the present-day thinking by filling the gaps that exist in it. By assimilating in our present-day knowledge some of the ancient wisdom, we might be able to make our lives happier and more successful.

I have always attached great importance to a proper synthesis between the ancient and the modern currents of thought. It is my conviction that

Speech made while laying the foundation stone of Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, January 11, 1957.

familiarity with ancient learning should constitute an important part of modern education. There can be no conflict between these two currents of thought, as, since the very dawn of creation, the principal motive which has actuated man in the search for happiness in life. All his efforts have been bent towards improving the conditions and environments for the achievement of this aim. What we call modern thought is not altogether new. Cumulative knowledge and experience of the past have gone to form the foundation on which the edifice of modern thought stands. It is, therefore, necessary for us to realise this truth and seek to achieve a synthesis of the modern and the ancient thought.

To be able to follow this useful and important suggestion, it is essential that we study the older Indian languages, particularly Sanskrit. The revolution of Indian thought in all fields of knowledge is linked up with Sanskrit since pre-historic times, although much of Buddhist and Jain literatures is available in Pali and Prakrit languages also. Without studying these languages and also without grasping the spirit of the successor languages, the modern Indian tongues, we can never hope to achieve the desired synthesis.

The sponsors of the Kurukshetra University have been inspired by these thoughts. It is, therefore, natural that the courses of study and the programme of researches to be followed here will be in keeping with the object. The departments which are being opened here and the courses of study which will be formulated, will, I am sure, be guided by the spirit of synthesis. In all these matters we shall have to strike the golden mean between the acquiring of pure knowledge and the practical needs of life. I hope that the University, which we might describe as a new experiment in education, will be filling a long-felt want.

The place which you have selected for locating this University has its own importance. Kurukshetra, which is situated in the centre of this State, is connected with many an important past event, associated as it is with a host of religious and cultural traditions. The recent move to establish Universities and educational institutions in rural areas will also find support from the setting up of this University at Kurukshetra which is situated in the heart of the countryside.

The decision of the Punjab Government* to set up this University is indeed praiseworthy. It perforce reminds us of those times when Punjab was the home of great scholars and eminent grammarians like Panini. It is a matter of pride for Punjab, which has such a glorious tradition of learning, that after centuries of indifference towards Sanskrit, this University is being established here today.

The Punjab has since been divided and Kurukshetra is now in Haryana State.

I feel confident that the Kurukshetra University will draw the people to that great store of knowledge which lies hidden in Sanskrit and other Indian languages by popularising the study of their literatures. This ancient literature and thought connected with it is the most important part of our heritage, which is of vital importance not only for this country but the whole world.

Therefore, I think that this University will not just be adding to the number of the existing Universities in India, it will have its distinctive aims and its own planned study and research. Not only in our country, but all over the world there is a demand that knowledge and science, spiritual progress and material prosperity, character-building and intellectual development should go hand in hand so that the world retains the technique of manufacturing atom bombs but actually uses that knowledge and technique for the welfare of mankind and not for making destructive weapons of war. Let us not ignore the world in which we live and look upon meditation in a sequestered grove as the sole object of life. Let us also not forget the human soul and God and look upon material well-being as the be-all and end-all of life. Our ideal should be to devote ourselves to the spiritual aspect of life while living in the world and to do all that is possible for the material well-being of human beings while advancing on the path of spirituality. We want to inculcate this spirit of synthesis and harmony in the minds of our young men and women through the study of Sanskrit literature.

I hope and pray that the Kurukshetra University will be successful in achieving its object and that it will serve the Indian people and their literature.

Sanskrit in Our National Life

I AM GLAD to be in your midst to inaugurate the fifth session of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad which is being held at this sacred place. It has been my good luck to have been associated with all the previous sessions of this Parishad. It is only proper that this session, coming in the wake of the session held last year at Tirupati, the holy place of the South, should be held at this famous centre of pilgrimage, Kurukshetra.

It is gratifying to note that the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad has been advancing gradually towards the achievement of its goal, namely, popularisation of Sanskrit language and literature throughout the country. The information that has been received from the various Indian universities

shows that as a subject of study Sanskrit is becoming more and more popular among the student class. It has also become a subject of active discussion in social and political circles. It was perhaps the result of this awakening and the activities of this Parishad that the Government have set up a commission to investigate all questions relating to the study of Sanskrit in the country. It is hoped, this Commission will consider these questions from the point of view of the utility and wider propagation of Sanskrit, and that it would be able to make recommendations which will enrich not only the Sanskrit language and literature but also our national life. I am sure this Parishad will offer full co-operation to the Commission in its work. The Sanskrit Vishva Parishad will also be able to collect necessary data and information asked for by the Commission in its questionnaire. We can help the Commission considerably by collecting such material and making it available to it.

As all of you know, I have laid the foundation stone of the Kurukshetra University today. The credit for conceiving the idea of a Sanskrit University goes to your Parishad, and the Punjab Government, which has given practical shape to it in spite of good many difficulties, deserves our congratulations.

We are happy to see that our people and Government have begun to pay more attention to the study of Sanskrit and the Indian languages. Just as the Kurukshetra University has been founded here today, a decision has also been taken to establish a Sanskrit University at Varanasi, which has been associated with Sanskrit learning from time immemorial.

Although as a result of the Parishad's efforts the educated classes in India have begun to realise the importance of Sanskrit studies, it cannot be said that the common people, as such, in our country share that inclination to the same extent. There is a good deal of indifference and many misgivings are still found among the people and it is the duty of the Parishad to get over them. I do not think mere propaganda is sufficient to meet the requirements of the situation. I feel that as far as possible we should strive to simplify the learning and teaching of Sanskrit in accordance with present-day requirements. The study of ancient literature is no doubt of great importance, but the present-day student cannot be satisfied with only that. He desires to study a literature which brings him closer to the life that he actually leads and which endows him with the capacity to face the problems and difficulties inherent in this life. This question is of such fundamental importance that it merits the best attention of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad and those connected with the Sanskrit University. They have to solve it by mutual discussions and exchange of ideas. While, therefore, we welcome the establishment of a Sanskrit University, we must also realise the responsibility it has thrown on our shoulders.

So far as the recognition of Sanskrit as an important subject of study is concerned, we see good omens all over the country. Sanskrit, which does not want to encroach on any of the spoken languages of India, occupies a special place in our cultural and religious life. I would not be wrong if I add that its importance in our political life is equally great, because for thousands of years it was Sanskrit which kept the various regions of this great country together. Although Sanskrit ceased, in course of time, to occupy the same prominent place in our curriculum, it still occupies the foremost place in our social religious and cultural life. It would, therefore, be correct to say that the importance of Sanskrit as an instrument for forging the bond of unity in this country has not altogether disappeared even today.

I congratulate the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad on its valuable work and hope that its efforts would bear fruit and Sanskrit will once again occupy in our life the place which it deserves.

With these words I have great pleasure in declaring the fifth session of the Sanskrit Vishva Parishad open.

A University Completes Hundred Years

I FEEL VERY happy today in being able to associate myself with the Centenary Celebrations of the Calcutta University, whose history is largely the history of the beginning of western education or modern higher education in this country, particularly in Eastern India. I say so because in the beginning the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University extended from the Punjab in the West to Burma in the East and from Nepal in the North to Ceylon in the South, with the universities of Madras and Bombay thrown in between, so far as the Western Deccan and the Southern regions were concerned. Gradually, as the thirst for university education developed, other universities also came into being in the inevitable process of expansion.

For nearly 50 years, before the three universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were established, pioneers of Indian renaissance like Rammohun Roy had been in the vanguard of an active movement that sought to introduce Western science and thought through the medium of English in our country. The views of the protagonists of Anglicism and Orientalism are too well-known to require recapitulation here. But it was significant that the arena where the battle was fought was predominantly Bengal, more particularly

Calcutta. In this conflict of ideas the Anglicists got the better of their opponents and this fact was reflected in the ushering in of these three universities. The Calcutta University, it may be said, was associated with the Indian renaissance and the awakening of nationalism through its alumni in a special way. While it is not possible to underrate the importance of the other universities, I might say that the fountain-head of this nationalism was largely opened up by the products of this University.

It is interesting to see how this University developed into a training ground of nationalism almost, in spite of the intentions of the British authorities in India. Lord Canning, the first Chancellor of this University, expressed himself very clearly that Calcutta University would resemble English universities like Oxford and Cambridge of his days in which the nobility and the upper classes of India would be educated. But in less than 10 years, Sir Henry Maine, the then Vice-Chancellor, found that instead of becoming an institution for the aristocrats, the Calcutta University was fast becoming a popular institution. The education given here began to prepare the soil in which the creative ideals of modern Indian life were to take root and to flower. The very first and second generations of Indians who were the products of this and the other two universities of Madras and Bombay became the torch-bearers of liberty. Yet in a very deep sense, here was the great consummation of the mission the West was destined to fulfil in the East and also of the mission which the East had to take to the West in the messages of Swami Vivekananda, a student of this University and Gurudev Tagore who was also connected with it, though not a student himself.

You will pardon me if I am in a reminiscent mood for a while and recapitulate the momentous days when I had the good fortune of being a student in this University. During those days we found, on the one hand, the passing of the Universities Act of 1904 giving this University the authority to organise teaching and research; on the other hand, there was active expression of patriotism on a very large scale among students. The partition of Bengal saw the whole of India in ferment. The cult of *swadeshi* became a creed with the educated people who took it to the masses in the countryside. While the universities were expanding their work, need for radical reform was felt in the system of education and non-official institutions having a different objective and curricula and unrecognised by Government grew up in different parts of the country, laying emphasis on nationalism and Indian culture and way of life. In Bengal the protest against the prevalent set-up took shape in the establishment of the National Council of Education, which was presided over by Sir Gurudas Banerji, an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, with a large number of some of the most distinguished alumni of the Calcutta University as teachers and students.

On account of its independent outlook, the position of the Calcutta University remained uneasy for an appreciable time. These difficulties and occasional crises notwithstanding, the University continued to progress and soon became a people's university.

The motto of the Calcutta University is "Advancement of Learning" and I take it that those who have been responsible for guiding and controlling the University have understood by its advancement both vertical and lateral. Thus, there has been vast expansion of the system of education which the University stands for and people have been busy enthusiastically all these hundred years establishing new institutions all over the country. The territorial jurisdiction of the Calcutta University has undergone tremendous changes and as against what it covered at the time of its establishment, today its activities are confined to the State of West Bengal alone, all the adjoining and distant areas outside Bengal having been cut away from it. That has happened not on account of any lack of interest in the form of education but because of the intense desire to provide larger and ever larger facilities to our young people by establishing new universities. On the other hand, the University has not neglected advancement of learning vertically and under the dynamic personality of Shri Asutosh Mookerjee has built up a system of post-graduate studies and research in all departments of knowledge. There is a tendency today to establish more and more residential universities both for humanities and sciences and specializing in particular subjects. Through the impetus given to post-graduate studies and research, the Calcutta University has been in the vanguard of educational progress. Its alumni have to their credit not only a large volume of original work in humanities and sciences, but they are also engaged in technical and technological pursuits all over the country. The University, therefore, deserves congratulations on its achievements.

I have mentioned earlier, that in the first quarter of the last century, before the establishment of the University, there was prolonged controversy regarding the kind of education and the medium of instruction and that Anglicists had won the day. But it was not long before it began to dawn on those who were educated in this system that for education to be true and genuine and to be capable of bringing out the best that was in man, a foreign language as medium of instruction impose a heavy burden, and the result, not unnaturally has been a certain amount of superficiality among a very large number of those who have benefitted from this kind of education. It is true that even with a foreign medium India has produced great litterateurs, great scientists, great physicians, great lawyers, great engineers—in fact men of high stature in all walks of life. But their number is rather small when you think of the vast numbers who have gone through the mill; and it

would be an interesting study to find out comparative figures showing the percentage of those who have made original contributions, from amongst persons educated through their own language and those educated through a foreign medium. I have a feeling that this investigation, if it can be held, will give no indefinite answer in favour of the mother tongue being the medium of instruction.

As I have said, this aspect of the question began to be canvassed not many years after the establishment of universities and some of the experiments in the field of what is known as national education were the result. The cycle seemed to have been almost completed in the second decade of the present century when the Saddler Commission came to the conclusion that the best medium of education would be the mother tongue of the student, and although this recommendation of that Commission has not been fully considered, much less implemented, in the various universities and other educational institutions, there is no doubt that there is, generally speaking, strong public opinion in favour of Indianizing education. Unlike their predecessors in the first quarter of the 19th century, the protagonists of English are now on the defensive and with the national upsurge and the establishment of an independent Republic, there is no doubt that it is only a matter of time-and that too not a long time-when our languages will come into their own and be accepted as media not only of instruction but also for all work, literary and scientific, administrative and political.

It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that our Constituent Assembly devoted a part of the Constitution to the question of language. While it recognised Hindi as the language for all affairs of an all-India character, it also gave full freedom to each State to develop its regional language or languages. The States Reorganization Commission gave expression to the longing that was in the minds of the people to have a division of the country into States on the basis of language; and today, with the exception of two States; all the others have only one language prevalent within their territory. This opens up a vast vista for the improvement and progress of various regional languages.

It is sometimes urged that our languages are not developed enough to serve as vehicles for the expression of all scientific and technological knowledge and, therefore, it is suggested that we must continue to have a foreign language as medium of instruction if not in all, at any rate in those branches of knowledge. Necessity is the mother of invention and I have no doubt that when the demand is made on these languages to fulfil this function, they will in course of time develop and equip themselves creditably. It is futile to expect a language to grow while shutting it off from the holy

precincts of higher and particularly technical knowledge. I am, therefore, hoping that in the next few years there is going to be a tremendous resurgence in our language and the day is not distant when they will be able to discharge the functions which other languages in other countries, with much less resources in human material and culture, do. It is not a political question but rather a question which touches the very roots of our life and culture and we cannot afford to ignore it. I am hoping that the Calcutta University which has played such an important part in the past will yet be in the vanguard of this resurgence.

The expansion of education has been so rapid and vast that it has not been possible either for the community or for the universities to keep pace with it, with the result that there is a big gap between our social requirements and the service which our educated people can render. Universities were originally examining bodies and in spite of the fact that greater and greater emphasis has been laid in course of time on teaching and formation of character of the pupils, the fundamental notion persists that an educated person is he alone who has passed a university examination and obtained its diploma. Apart from deterioration in the standard of education which has happened and which is admitted, the purpose of giving the hall-mark of educational efficiency as the result of these tests has itself been very largely defeated. It is, therefore, not surprising that for a small job the duties attached to which do not require any high academic qualifications acquired at a university, there are hundreds, if not thousands, of applicants with the hall-mark of a university. The universities have, thus, ceased to be even screening agencies for weeding out the unfit. And today, the greatest problem before all educationists and also governments is what to do with the vast numbers of degree-holders in the country. Having given up the old habits of their parents and grand-parents and also their modes of life and having acquired a smattering of learning which wrongly but nonetheless truly creates an aversion to manual work, they feel disappointed and frustrated when they cannot get jobs which are simply not available. And yet, the habit of associating university degrees with knowledge and efficiency persists and every parent, who can afford the means, has the ambition of sending his ward to a school or college affiliated to a university. There is always a lurking hope in the mind of such a parent that after obtaining the degree, he would be able to make good the investment which he is making.

It is not an easy question which can be answered off hand and the effort in obtaining university degrees and the subsequent disappointment and frustration can be avoided. It is absolutely necessary that the universities should devote more and more of their time and energy to the advancement of learning vertically and some other agency should be devised for testing

the capacity of candidates for jobs of various kinds. This will naturally require decentralization of instruction and a shift more and more to scientific and technological subjects and at the same time those who are keen and fitted by their aptitude to advancement of learning should be given greater and greater facilities in the universities to grow to their full stature.

It is not an easy question which can be answered off hand and I know that all thinkers are trying to think out a solution to the problem. I have ventured to draw attention to this because I feel that the problem of educated unemployment is fast approaching the saturation point which it need not do if only we do this screening at a suitable stage and divert those aiming at jobs in one direction and those with a genuine interest in learning and research, in the direction of universities.

I would like to conclude on a note of optimism and express the fervent hope that the active forces which this University set in motion during a comparatively dark period of our life will continue to be generated in a still larger measure for the fulfilment of the noble destiny of independent India.

On this happy occasion of the Centenary of the Calcutta University, which has given us an opportunity of meeting together and reviewing the stages through which the Calcutta University and higher education in India in general have passed, I would like, as an old student of this University, to offer my greetings to all those connected with it in any way. Let me end this address with the hope that the Calcutta University would make still greater contribution to the advancement of learning and the building up of the Indian of our dreams.

Andhra Sahitya Akademy

I MUST BEGIN with a word of apology for not being able to address you in Telugu. I cannot blame myself for that because we have decided to learn as many languages as possible of this country at an age when I am too old to learn any language. I must also apologise for not addressing you in Hindi, because I understand there are many persons in this audience who would not be able to follow my speech in Hindi. I have, therefore, no option but to speak in a foreign language. But I believe and hope that the time will soon come when it will not be necessary for any Indian to use a foreign language in addressing another Indian. That was the dream of Mahatma Gandhi when he started Hindi Prachar in the southern part of the country and when the time came for drawing up a constitution for the country, it was

Speech made while inaugurating the Andhra Sahitya Akademy, Hyderabad, August 7, 1957.

realised that we cannot continue to carry on our functions in a foreign language for any length of time. It was, therefore, that they had adopted Hindi as the language for all-India purposes but at the same time it was felt and laid down in the Constitution that the provincial languages should also be encouraged and given all facilities for rising to full stature in all departments of life and for that reason an academy was instituted by the Government of India so that it might encourage the various languages, that are prevalent in the country, to develop and at the same time enable them each to contribute towards the development of other languages by lending support to them.

The object of the academy is not to develop any language in any particular state but to develop all languages and bring them all together to a common platform as far as possible to enable them to exchange the best thought in them. It is for this reason that translation of classics of all languages that are prevalent in the country as well as of foreign languages into Indian languages is encouraged. It is for this reason that it is proposed to award prizes to the best authors, to the best literateurs of each of these languages so that they may be encouraged. The all-India body was instituted three years ago and such academies have since then been established in some of the states for the particular languages prevalent in them.

You have had good reason for not starting an academy earlier because you were waiting for the realisation of a dream which you have cherished of Vishal Andhra and when that dream has been realised, the time has come for starting an academy in your state also and you are taking steps for its inauguration.

In this connection, I might well point out that it has never been the dream of anyone to force Hindi on any part of India. What is wanted is that we should express ourselves to one another in an Indian language, particularly in all-India matters, whether they be political and administrative matters, whether they be matters of trade and commerce. In a vast country like India where we have so many languages, the language understood by the largest number of people should be adopted as the national language and it was mere coincidence, mere chance that Hindi happened to be a language which was spoken and understood by the largest number of people in the country, and it was for this reason that it was adopted as the official language. There is no other reason, excepting the number, which induced the framers of the Constitution to adopt Hindi as the language for the country. Although there are people in some parts of the country who still feel that Hindi is being forced on them, I know from personal experience that you are not among them. It is not only now but more than 20 years ago when I was touring this part of the country as President of the Congress that I had

to address large numbers of meetings in various places and I remember that in most of the places people who had assembled to hear me would like me to speak in Hindi rather than in English. The reason was also clear. The majority of the audience would understand neither Hindi nor English and they had to wait for a translation of my speech. The number which could understand English may be the same which could 'understand Hindi. So, if they had to wait for a translation, it did not matter whether I spoke in Hindi or in English, and Hindi being a national language, they always preferred Hindi. It was then that I first realised your attachment to Hindi which was later on adopted as the national language, and your great enthusiasm for making your contribution to national causes. Since then, I have retained that high opinion about you and I am happy that you have asked me to inaugurate this academy on this occasion.

It is not surprising that in a vast country like India we have so many languages. Those of you, who may have toured Europe, may be knowing that there are so many languages there. There also are languages which are spoken by a very small number of persons—number much less than the number who speak any of the Indian languages. Still they have preserved them. It was the wisdom and far-sightedness of our ancestors that in spite of differences of language, they kept the country one; they devised devices which united us and in spite of all kinds of difficulties, calamities which no other nation could survive, we have survived and are still living together as one country and one nation. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us now that we have attained political freedom also, to so behave and carry on our affairs that the independence which we have won may last and last for ever, that every section of the vast community, irrespective of the language they speak, their customs, method of living, should have all facilities and opportunity to develop as much humanly possible and for this reason we have decided that the state languages, provincial languages should also develop as much as possible.

I was thinking how I could help this unification still further. I have had some experience of a kind which I wish to share with you. Many years ago there used to be a publication in Calcutta which was run by a gentleman who was a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. His name was Sharada Charan. It was called "Devanagar" which used to publish articles in different languages of India but in Devanagari script and we used to find that we could understand a great deal of several languages through Devanagari script and ever since I have always felt that it was possible for the provincial languages to be better understood and more known if we could render them in one script. Fortunately, except Tamil, the alphabet of all Indian languages is one and it is not only in India but outside India also, as for

example, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, etc., that the alphabet is the same, the script is different but the sound is the same. We have got that advantage. If we could adopt one script which is acceptable to all, it would be very much easier for people speaking one language to understand other languages and it would be a great day when we have brought this about. The publication to which I have referred above used to be published about 40 years ago. But recently, three, four or five years ago when the first general elections were held, when the new members of Parliament met me, I suggested to them to revive the publication of the journal. They accepted my suggestion and they have also started a journal called "Devanagar". But it is in an improved form. What Shri Sharada Charan's "Devanagar" used to do was that it published articles in different languages together but in Devanagari script. But in the present-day "Devanagar", articles in different languages are given with translation also. Sometimes, Hindi articles are translated in Tamil, Tamil articles in Telugu, Telugu in Gujarati, Bengali, in Marathi and so forth but all are produced in Devanagari script. I am putting this forward before you learned people. If you consider it is possible to adopt a course like this, my own feeling is that we should be able to enrich the various literatures, which is not the case now because of the difficulty of script. Here again, Devanagari script is being mentioned because Sanskrit has always been written in Devanagari script and it is already known all over the country. But I am not particular about it. You may adopt any other script which may sound more feasible. I am not very much concerned with any particular language. What I want is that we should adopt one script for the whole country so that, as I have said above, it may become easy for people speaking one language to read another language. I have thrown this suggestion for your consideration. It has no authority behind it. As an individual interested in the unity of the country I have thrown it. It is not difficult to achieve if we make it our aim. When the alphabet is the same, to learn a language becomes easy.

In regard to the Academy which you have now started, I express my happiness and best wishes for its success. I have no doubt that you have undertaken that this Academy will be able to give encouragement to all literateurs who are now engaged in the Telugu-speaking areas. As I have pointed out, literature is the most lasting thing which we can produce. We have many instances of great structures having been built by our ancestors—structures of bricks and mortar. Some of them last for 100, 200, 500 years but so far as human history goes, literature has lasted as long as the human race has lasted, longer than anything else, because literature of many countries goes back to the days when writing was not known and what was conceived was communicated by word of mouth and was preserved

by people by memory and passed on to generations by word of mouth. Thus was the beginning of our Vedas, also called Sruti and Smriti, which means the same thing a people 'used to hear and memorise when there was no such thing as writing and printing and getting these in written form. But today we have got all facilities available to us. With these modern facilities available, literature can last longer than it has lasted so far. There is no knowing how much of the ancient literature has been lost and even that which has been preserved is not always so well known because it has been preserved in a form which makes it difficult to reach the people at large. In the country, there are thousands and thousands of manuscripts, but they are not known because they have not been published and made available to the people. The fact that some of them have been preserved till this day shows the listing character of literature. It is, therefore, that we want valuable literature to be preserved. It is not every kind of writing that should be preserved. If we start preserving everything that has been written, then life would become intolerable because so much would be there to preserve. The best things should be preserved and that should be preserved which is worth preserving and if we do that, many many generations to come would be proud of them.

I hope the Academy will devote itself to the creation of things which will be liked not only by the people of Andhra Pradesh but also by the people at large and we have no doubt you have got such men as can do it. I am quite sure that your Governor and Government and Ministers will always give such assistance as you require to make this Academy a success. I wish it all success.

Universities and Character Building

I THANK YOU for the opportunity you have afforded to me of meeting you this morning and of saying a few words. Poona, as has justly been remarked, has a great place in the history of our country. Even today, although this University may be a young university, it ranks high as a place of great learning, of great research, and what is even more important, of great men. We are now engaged in building up an India of which future generations will be proud, and naturally we have got in hand large plans of construction in all spheres of activity. Equally naturally there is a demand for engineers and architects and for men who will be able to help in the construction of that India. We see almost every day that in some part of the

country or other institutions are growing and coming up for the purpose of instructing and preparing engineers and architects. Our universities are naturally looked upon as places from which inspiration should flow to all these architects and engineers.

Within recent years there has been a very great expansion in matters of education in the whole country. That expansion has been, I am afraid, horizontal. There has not been equal expansion vertically, so that what was gained in extent we have not gained in depth and I flatter myself that as a young man when I studied in the university and in college, I knew perhaps a little more than a man of my age does today in a college or university; and I venture to think that that must be the experience of all those who can count some years to their credit. I, therefore, feel that in this expansion we should pay attention also to the depth, and while attending to that side of educational curricula, we have also to remember that universities have to adjust themselves to the needs of the India of today and the India of the future. We were in those days content with a modicum of knowledge of history or philosophy, of mathematics and perhaps also of elementary science. There were very few engineering institutions and very few institutions, if any, of a technical nature. The demands of today are for these latter class of institutions more than for institutions which will give us a knowledge of history or philosophy or even of literature. These are not to be neglected, but at the same time we have to so adjust our curricula as to be more in consonance with our present requirements. That is necessary for the implementation of the big schemes and big plans which the country has undertaken after the attainment of independence.

But even in the big plans which we have partly carried out and which we hope to be able to carry out in the next few years, I feel there is one great drawback. We are preparing and trying to prepare engineers who will build big dams, big buildings and big laboratories. I do not, however, know, if we are paying any attention to the creation of engineers who will build human beings. I have a feeling that there has been a certain amount of deterioration in that respect also and what we need specially in a free and independent India, an India which wants to build itself up for the future, is a number of engineers who will be able to produce men of character and integrity and men who can be depended upon for anything that was entrusted to them. If you fail anywhere, I sometimes wonder if the failure is not due entirely to human material. We read almost every day of some accident or other either in railway or aeroplane or of some other kind. In most cases, I should think the failure is not of the machine but the failure of man, and it is a question of great importance for the national well-being that we should remove the causes which lead to that failure. Even failure of the machine

is ultimately due to the failure of man because, after all, the machine is the creation of man, and even if we do not create the machine and import, we have to run the machine and any failure in the running of the machine is the failure of the Indian worker who handles it.

It is, therefore, necessary that our universities should pay more and more attention to the building up of the character of those who come to study in them. Time there was when students used to live in the ashrams of the teachers who were also *rishis* and *tapasvis* of those days. Perhaps it is not possible to reproduce those conditions today and we have to build in a very much bigger way. Even in olden times we had big places where thousands and thousands of young men congregated for learning in universities like Nalanda where ten or twelve thousand students were housed in one house, universities like Taxila and so many others of those days used to accommodate thousands and thousands of students and yet I believe they attended to the building up of the character of the students more than they attended to their mental improvement and equipment. Today we find that that is an aspect of education which it is considered unnecessary to attend to. There is hardly any attempt made to regulate the life of the student so as to make him imbibe those fundamental principles of life which are really the things that matter.

I do not suggest regimentation. Far from it, I suggest that any regimentation which may be necessary should come from inside and not from outside. It should grow out of the spiritual and moral nature of the youngman himself and not something that has to be imposed from outside. If education really means bringing something out of the individual who comes for education, then these qualities which are inherent in all men and women should be brought out and they should be brought out by the teachers who teach in schools and universities. It is there that regimentation should come from inside and not from outside. We hear of strikes in schools and colleges, we hear of parties being formed among students, sometimes with the aid of professors also, of parties being formed amongst teachers to which even students are drawn and for the purpose of which they are utilised.

This is not the kind of regimentation that will help the country. Certainly it will not help the students who come under it. It certainly does not help the teachers. The real lack is that kind of education which would make the student feel what his duties are, what he has to do, and the limitations to which he has to submit out of his own free will; and our universities should so frame their curricula, should so organize the students within themselves, and what is even more important than the organization of students, so organize the life of those young men and women who come under their influence as

to make them really good and honourable men and women of integrity and honour.

While your university is young, it has a great advantage. It may not be true of other universities and what they regarded as a weak point, may really become converted into a strong point in favour of a young university. I would wish and I would suggest most respectfully to the Chancellor, to the Vice-Chancellor and to the Members and to all those who are in charge of this University that traditions be created which will be healthy and which will really turn out men and women of character and who will be able to help India. We have to remember that India has a message for the world. Today, there are many things which we have to take from other countries. But there are certain things which we have to give to other countries. But before we can give, we must know what we have to give so that we may ourselves be in a position to appreciate those things; and it is for this purpose, with that high aim and objective, that we have to train the youth of the country so that they may carry the message of India to the world.

We have had a glorious past, but that will be of no value unless you can convert it into a living present and what is even more important, you can make it possible for the future to become even more glorious and I can only hope that universities will realise their responsibilities in respect of character-building of all those who come under their influence. You have, fortunately, here in Poona, men and women who could be followed as Ideals, men and women whom the university can see in flesh and blood, men and women who can really come in contact with them and feel elevated in their own lives, and I wish you give them the opportunity of not only imbibing knowledge but also something of the spirit which has made great men and women of India and of Poona. I need hardly say anything more. My wish will be fulfilled if the tradition of producing men of great mental calibre and also having at the same time high spiritual values is maintained. If you can produce these, you will fulfil the purpose which the country holds dear.

Giving Education a Broader Basis

IT GIVES ME a great pleasure to inaugurate this Inter-University Youth Festival. I have been connected with these functions in one way or another ever since they were started four years ago by the Ministry of Education, but I particularly welcome this opportunity of addressing you a few words. I am sure all of you realise the importance of youth movement.

Speech made at the inauguration of the Inter-University Youth Festival, New Delhi, November 1, 1957.

It is a well-known fact that young men and women are a nation's backbone, for which reason the upbringing and education of its youth is considered to be a nation's primary duty. Therefore, when after Independence we thought of reorganising our educational system so as to adjust it to our new programmes and nation-building activities, it was considered necessary to provide for such a festival in which young men and women studying in various universities of India might participate and spend some time together every year. Such an occasion, when students of various universities can mix freely, know one another and appreciate one another's views and mode of living and also participate in open competitions, is of utmost importance. This festival is thus, significant not only from the educational point of view but also because of its great social and cultural value.

If this Youth Festival is getting popular and the number of participants is increasing every year, it need not cause any surprise to any one. Young people always react favourably to new trends and always welcome occasions like this. Besides being a source of healthy recreation, such occasions teach them a good many useful things. Many of you must be thinking of the events-dramas, folk songs and other items—in which you have to compete during your stay here. I am not sure if it would be proper for me to touch upon any serious topic on an occasion like this. But, then, I think the affection and regard which you have shown for me might well be symptomatic of your wish to hear something from me. Besides, such opportunities of speaking to you may also be for me few and far between. Therefore I find it difficult to resist the temptation of speaking to you about a matter close to my heart.

I want to advise you to develop a broad outlook and a liberal attitude in life. This is to say, you should try to be large hearted in your thoughts and actions. In keeping as it is with our traditional thinking, present-day conditions and national progress also demand it. You all know that India is an ancient country. During thousands of years of its history it has seen many a rise and fall and the coming up and fading away of many a culture. India has witnessed the rise of vast empires and their gradual disintegration. It has even seen the queer phenomenon of its own geographical limits expanding and contracting many a time. In spite of these vicissitudes of fortune, India is still by God's grace a living force, while several ancient countries exist today nowhere except in books of history. The foremost reason for this survival seems to be that our traditional thought has some inherent strength in it which manifested itself in the form of a common link binding all the cataclysmic changes. That link is the feeling of broad-mindedness and tolerance. Thanks to

this feeling, our system of thought was able to assimilate new ideas and accept new values. To be sure, it is that trait in our culture which has kept us alive and which in course of time laid the foundation of our national unity.

Be that as it may, India has become today a Sovereign Democratic Republic after traversing many a long distance. In its long and chequered history it is perhaps for the first time that the whole country has been brought under one administration, one constitution and one national flag. The older people have somehow been able to devise for the nation, a legal and constitutional mould and give it a *de jure* unity. To improve upon it and make it a *de facto* unity by putting it beyond the pale of doubt, is a task which devolves largely upon the youth of the country. I have already thrown a hint as to how best you may carry out this responsibility. You can do it successfully only by having an open mind and adopting a broad-minded outlook on life. You can achieve it by eschewing narrow-mindedness, by accepting the principle of equality, by rising above factionalism and caste or class distinctions and by forsaking forever provincial or regional prejudices. It is your good fortune that you are receiving your education in free India. Men like me who have had to study in institutions run by foreigners might well envy you in this respect.

You may have noticed that the whole country is busy implementing the programme of reconstruction. Dams are being built, canals are being dug, heavy industries are being established, cottage industries are being revived, new facilities are being provided to the people in the countryside and everything possible is being done for the economic development of the country. Certainly, you can also lend a helping hand in furthering these activities. If you could directly take up something in hand by working in the cities or villages, well and good; otherwise, you could still do your duty by imbibing the spirit of liberality and thus by giving an impetus to the forces of broad-mindedness. Let it not be forgotten that sooner or later you have to shoulder heavy responsibilities. You are the future nation and the burden of completing the task of reconstruction has to be borne by you. We have tried to make the best of the opportunity that we got and do our bit to make India a prosperous country, but we have never been in doubt that the most valuable wealth of our nation is its youth. May I, therefore, put it to you, that you should mould your thoughts and actions according to modern conditions while at the same time remaining steadfast to the long-cherished ideals of this ancient land? You have before you the ideals of universal goodwill, equality, tolerance and patriotism. It is up to you now to translate them in actual life.

All that I have said just now, seeks in a way to lay emphasis on character-building. There is nothing worthwhile that man can achieve in life without character, be it something personal or national. You cannot build your character by merely reading books or by hearing lofty sermons. For that you have to imbibe the spirit of sacrifice and inculcate faith in yourselves. Once you have developed these virtues, there is nothing, big or small, which you cannot achieve. You should learn to place others before self and service of the society before personal gain. The test of your actions will be your sincerity of purpose, the basic honesty in your word, thought and deed, so that whatever lies hidden within the recesses of your mind is not at variance with the actions you actually perform.

In spite of financial stringency and many other difficulties, we are spending quite a lot on education with a view to providing more and more facilities to our students. Our youth will have fully deserved all these benefits if only young people like you devoted yourselves seriously to character building and developed a truly liberal attitude in life. Festivals like the one which is being inaugurated today will go a long way in preparing you for such an undertaking. On such occasions you must try to cultivate your fellow-brethren coming from other regions and thus lay the foundation of friendship and goodwill among the entire student community. It is on these occasions that you can develop and imbibe all those *samskaras* on which the edifice of the great Indian nation is going to be raised.

I wish this Festival every success. It is my fervent hope that all of you will benefit from your experience here and that it will pave the way for your future prosperity and happiness.

I have great pleasure now in inaugurating this Festival.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan

DURING MY PUBLIC life and at the time when I was a Minister in the Union Government and during recent years that I have been President, I have had many opportunities of visiting educational institutions of various kinds. I have also been greatly interested in education and its problems. Today, when I am participating in the convocation of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, it is only natural that those problems should come to my mind again. Every educational institution has its limitations and restricted programme of work according to which instruction is imparted.

Speech made at the Convocation of the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, November 10, 1957.

Similarly, a university carries on its function of education and research according to a considered plan. We have on the other hand, various concerns and institutions devoted to publication of good and useful books for the benefit of the public.

All this makes me wonder, what sort of an institution Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is, because among its aims and objects are included not only imparting modern education but also publication of books, doing valuable research, popularisation of the arts, giving impetus to Indian culture, furthering the cause of Sanskrit and Hindi languages and literature, etc. Therefore, Vidya Bhavan presents to us the model of a cultural academy for which anything related to education or any aspect of culture is relevant. Fortunately, I have not only been familiar with Vidya Bhavan from its very inception, but have been connected with it in a way. When Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan was founded and it started its work, there were many who thought its programme was too ambitious and, therefore, not quite practical, but its work during the last 20 years has given an effective reply to all those who might have entertained such misgivings.

You have just now heard Shri K. M. Munshi and also the director's annual report. It must have given you a fairly good idea of the progress made by the Bhavan and its achievements in various fields. The work which the Bhavan has done in the field of bringing out attractive, highly useful and inexpensive books is indeed pioneering. What I particularly welcome about the activities of the Bhavan is their variety and width of range. About the variety of its work I have already spoken just now. As for the range of its work, it will be enough to say that the Bhavan aspires to be an all-India organisation. For this purpose, it has already opened a few branches in other parts of the country. The New Delhi branch was opened a few months ago and prior to that a branch in Kanpur and Allahabad had been set up. It is hoped that in course of time it will be possible for the Bhavan to have branches in southern and eastern India. That will make the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan an all-India educational and cultural institution in the true sense of the term.

I would like to say something about the Sanskrit Vishwa Parishad and the Bharatiya Itihas Vibhag of the Bhavan. The Sanskrit Vishwa Parishad has created throughout the country great interest in Sanskrit language and literature during the last six or seven years of its existence. Sanskrit holds the key to our ancient thought and culture and without studying it we cannot familiarise ourselves with our cultural heritage. It is as a result of the Parishad's efforts that the importance of the study of Sanskrit is being realised in all parts of India and a programme of the study and popularisation

of this language is expected to be evolved soon. The Parishad's activities have also given impetus to the study of Sanskrit in our colleges and universities.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has assigned an important place to historical research from the very beginning, because it felt that knowledge of a country's true history was essential for national progress. Another one or two non-official organisations attempted this task but without much success. Fortunately, the History Department of the Vidya Bhavan has met with not only great success but also world-wide recognition in this important work. Their volumes covering the Vedic era and the subsequent periods of history have been widely welcomed. This work, important as it is, is equally difficult because to get at facts or to bridge gaps in history necessarily involves hard labour. It is gratifying to know that the Bhavan has been able to render a satisfactory account in this branch of its work. Ancient history is not merely a collection of events. In our ancient history are reflected the thought and cultural developments of one of the oldest peoples in the world.

I know that the history of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan is really the history of a few individuals' persistent efforts. Among them, Shri K. M. Munshi's name comes foremost. In spite of his preoccupations and many engagements, Shri Munshi has always found time for the Bhavan work and one can say that the Bhavan is, what it is, primarily because of the time and thought devoted by him to it. I offer my congratulations to Shri Munshi and all his associates on their success. By founding a broad-based institution like the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, they have rendered a great service to Indian education and culture. Besides helping the cause of education, the activities of the Bhavan have given an impetus to those elements and tendencies which are the essence of Indian thought and on which our traditional culture is based.

It is my fervent hope that success achieved by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan so far will serve only as the basis for a still greater effort and that its achievements will inspire it to still greater undertakings.

Faith as Basis of Peace

IT HAS GIVEN me great pleasure to have come here today to inaugurate this Conference of All Religions. I welcome this opportunity of hearing the views, on an important subject, of scholarly and devout people present here and also of saying a few words on it myself.

Inaugural speech made at the World Conference of All Religions, New Delhi, November 17, 1957.

Basically, all faiths have one and the same object, namely, enabling the human soul to attain to its full height of evolution so that man can achieve real peace or *moksha* or *nirvana*; in other words, man may lose his identity with that of the Supreme Being and be absorbed in Him. This aspiration of man is so strong and so natural that no other urge can give him surer guidance in life. The moment we touch the level of true religion, mutual suspicions and bickerings disappear and man is face to face with a breadth of vision before which all human beings appear as equal. Spiritual view of life is another name for this feeling. It should be quite clear that genuine peace and happiness of man are inextricably linked with this view of life. It does not mean that bodily comforts and material prosperity should be necessarily eschewed. What is meant by saying it is that the prosperity should not be mistaken for life's *summum bonum*. Material well-being may be looked upon as one of the means for achieving the highest good.

We find a number of faiths and religions prevalent in the world. On account of the differences in time and space, religious faith has taken different forms and we find people divided among various faiths. As a result of formal rituals and external symbolism, these differences have gone so deep that we find in history, man turning against man, tribe against tribe and country against country. On occasions, keen on destroying others in the name of religion, man has not refrained from shedding blood. The number of religious wars in human history is legion and the suffering caused by them is indescribable. While on the one hand, we find man resorting to justice, narrowness and cruel behaviour in the name of religion, on the other we also see the spectacle of man, a faithful person inspired by religion passing through untold sufferings even to the extent of giving away his life. Alas, it is not possible to say even today that man has outlived the animal instinct which impels him to believe that his views alone are right and to persuade others by force and repression to accept his beliefs.

The progress of science has brought us face to face with another difficult and complicated problem. In the wake of his mastery over Nature and its forces man has begun to look upon himself as omniscient, and indeed it would not be surprising at all if, mistaking material prosperity and comfort for the ultimate goal of life, he were to consider himself as omnipotent also. The basis of religious belief is not material but spiritual in nature.

Although, this idea is as old as the cosmos, yet unfortunately, it appears to have remained dormant as a moving force. Perhaps it is due to the predominance of materialistic outlook among the people. With the help of science, man has largely succeeded in analysing and controlling the forces of Nature and this startling progress has laid before him the snare of delusion.

Man has not been able to free himself from the excessive influence of materialism, though as a result of latest researches science itself seems to be overgrowing and surpassing the bounds of materialism and coming closer to recognition of the spiritual forces. The situation which we are facing today, as a result of the invention of destructive weapons, is such that in sheer self-protection we are beginning to incline towards spiritualism. It is gratifying that in unchecked advance of the means of destruction man now sees the ghost of his own annihilation and has thus been produced to look elsewhere for a way out of this quandary. The only way which can help him in this predicament is the way of truth and non-violence. This alone can give man real peace and happiness.

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that man can neither benefit fully from the advance of science nor escape his sure doom without giving due place in life to religious or spiritual values. It is these forces which the Conference of Religions is keen to awaken and revitalise. It is on this foundation that it is going to raise the structure of a new human society.

There are certain facts in life which appear to be straight and simple and apparently within easy grasp. We see these things clearly and feel the truth of their existence, but for one reason or another turn our back on them or are unable to accept them as such in actual life. It is difficult to say whether the fault lies with our surroundings or with human nature. What is beyond doubt is that to realise these simple facts, to have faith in them and to set up to them in life is the greatest blessing one can imagine or aspire to

Religion is the foremost among such facts. If we go into the intricacies of philosophy or metaphysics, it will be hard to define religion with all its subtleties and it would be difficult to derive guidance from it in everyday life. It would be easier to define religion if we view it as man's inner experience and thought and belief. The finer form of religion is concerned with man's inner experiences, which, strangely enough, are also responsible for the birth of religious belief in human mind. Its outer form, on the other hand, is seen in one's behaviour and actions in everyday life. In a wider sense we could say that religion consists of these beliefs and ideas which held for us the key to the mysteries of the origin of life and the relationship between man and the Supreme Being. It is religion or *dharma* which supplies the real basis for peace, for life's highest aspirations and for the knowledge of the great seers. It is also the ultimate goal of all devotees' and mystics' search no less than the aim of all literary endeavour. Religion, thus, is not only essential but inevitable for man as an individual and as a member of society.

It is only proper, that the Conference of All Religions should have been convened in India where men belonging to all faiths and religious denominations live in peace and goodwill towards one another. Without this feeling of tolerance and mutual accommodation, life here would be too hard indeed. The credit for this goes to our ancestors, to our saints and faqirs, and our religious leaders who, from the very dawn of history, have placed before us the ideals of tolerance, faith and respect for all religions. This fundamental right of freedom of belief and of propagating it for all the citizens, we have incorporated in our Constitution. There are some who think that because we are a Secular State, we do not believe in religion or spiritual values. Far from being so, it really means that in this country all are free to profess or preach the faith of their liking and that we wish well of all religions and want them to develop in their own way without let or hindrance.

It does not mean that man should consider himself free from all those injunctions and social restraints which have been responsible since the earliest times for organised and regulated life and which are inevitably necessary for the development of his individuality and the evolution of the ideal social order. It means that no individual or society should dominate other individuals or societies by suppressing them and that everyone must have full scope of development. This will be possible only when every individual and every society shows respect for the feelings and interest of others. Suppression of others must not be considered merely as against principles of fairplay, but also as incompatible with one's own real self-interest. Thus, alone can the feeling of genuine love and tolerance be brought about without which true peace and happiness of the individual and the society will remain a mirage.

Before concluding, I would like to say that in the light of the history of the past few thousands of years, we must pause and see if violence and aggression have done any good to human society or if they have been able to stop wars. The world has seen thousands of wars, hoping that, thus, aggression would end. That has not happened. Is it not the time we gave up violence and give a trial to non-violence and tolerance? Whatever we do to promote these is to the good of the world, and this is also the aim of this Conference.

May this Conference of Religions inspire all to imbibe this feeling of broad tolerance and may its proceedings give an impetus to the forces of world peace, is my wish and prayer.

Continuity in India's History

I APPRECIATE AND am grateful for the honour which you have done me by asking me to inaugurate this Conference. At the same time I must confess to a sense of embarrassment because I feel I lack the equipment that you expect in a man who is to address a gathering of learned people like those whom I see before me. The very enumeration of the subjects by Dr. Rao in which you are interested and in which you have been carrying on study and research, ought to be enough to frighten a man like me who can have no claim to study of any sort of any of them. I feel, however, that the subjects in which you are interested are subjects which ought to interest not only scholars but also the ordinary men.

Specially in India, we have been able to preserve and continue a kind of culture and civilisation which have come down from countless centuries. We have heard and we have read in books of cultures in different countries, cultures which have left their imprints on the lives of those people but cultures which did not exist in the form and in the way in which our culture has subsisted and continued for centuries. Since the days of the mythological Bhagirath, the Ganga has flown through the plains of India; it has gone on. There have been years when it was shrunk, years when it was overflowing, but it has gone on receiving tributes from tributaries coming from all directions and adding not only to its volume of water but also to the fertility and the richness of that water. Our culture has grown like Ganga since time immemorial, receiving tributes from various countries and various peoples in its long course, now shrinking, now being subdued, but ever rising and ever continuing its even flow. That is a matter on which we could congratulate ourselves, but that is a matter which requires also deep study by those who are in a position to interpret and make a critical examination of it, and who are in a position not only to re-construct the past which is forgotten in many respects but also enable that past to be useful to the present and shape our future. We shall be wise if we begin to draw upon that past which has continued for centuries and at the same time to build on the present for the future.

That is the task before India today. In the past, India has carried on this work not only within its own confines, but as modern research and modern studies have proved, the extent and bounds of India have gone on increasing as knowledge has expanded, from the West to the East and to the North, in whichever direction we go, from Mongolia and Turkistan to

Egypt and China, to Japan, to Indonesia, to Siam, to Ceylon and Burma, all these big areas and regions bear the imprints of Indian culture. When I think of this Greater India, I am reminded of a saying by Professor Sealey who wrote about the expansion of England in connection with the British Empire. He said:

“Little do we know of England
Whom only England knows.”

We can say about ourselves:

“Little do we know of India
Whom only India knows.”

What Sealey was thinking of was one kind of India; and the Greater India that we think of is of a different kind. It is of a kind which has lasted all these centuries. The Empire that Sealey was thinking of has, to the extent that it differed, so far ceased to exist, but I believe that the imprints which it has left behind of its culture, its literature and its democratic form of government, all these that England has left behind in India, will last and will help us in the future; just as in the same way what India left behind in other countries has lasted and has helped to form the present in those countries. This is a work which our scholars have to complete. We know that even in the history of our own country, there are gaps which are still unexplored and which await the scholarship and devotion of scholars.

But may I say one thing—the history that we read in our schools and colleges is of one kind; that is because that is the meaning that is attached to history now. We read of kings and their conquests, of invaders and their tyranny. Much time is devoted even by scholars to the fixing of the date of a particular person, of the year in which he was born, of the year in which he died, of the battles which he fought, the victories which he won, the defeats which he suffered, and of so many other things in the lives of rulers and kings. The kind of attention and the amount of attention which should be given to the life of the people is not ordinarily given and the conception of history of today is a collection or chronology of dates and of events. These are good in their own way. I do not wish to minimise them, but I believe that the more lasting thing for the good of humanity is not the knowledge of the date on which a particular conqueror was born but of the good things which anyone did, whether it was a conqueror or an ordinary person in the street, of the lessons which we can learn from the lives of good and great men, of the lessons which we can impart to the present and to the future from the lives of good and great men of all countries and all nations.

Our ancestors looked upon history somewhat in that way and that is why we now complain and accuse them of ignorance of history and of

their disregard of what we call history. In fact, they disregarded these things to such an extent that it is impossible even to fix the date of some of the authors' great works or to fix the dates of some of the great works themselves when they were written, and volumes have been written in trying to fix the dates. I wonder if it matters much for humanity whether a book was written in a particular year or 500 years earlier or 500 years later. If the thing is good, it is good. What it contains is good for humanity even if it is written today. If it is bad, it is not good even if it was written 5,000 years ago. Taking that view of history, I believe there is a great deal to be learnt even from our books and from our writing although we do not have many biographies—we do not have, as I have said, even the names of the authors of some of the greatest works.

I, therefore, feel that while giving due attention to dates, to chronology and such like things, more attention should be paid to the study of the lessons which we can derive from the past and this is necessary because in the present age we see many things topsy-turvy. With the advancement of science and technology, we find that we are not in a position to keep pace with them so far as the human spirit and human experience is concerned. An that has to be brought together, and I believe it is one of the functions of history to put these things in the right place, to emphasize the lessons which we can derive from the past so that even in this age of hydrogen and atom bombs, we can put things in their right place and humanity will learn not so much of conquests or wars or dynasties, but the good things that people did, not the weapons of destruction which can be manufactured, but the things which can make life happier and better for every individual irrespective of his nationality, country, religion or birth. That is the task that lies before us. Considering the number of subjects and the methods of studying them and considering that yours is a fraternity not confined to one country but to many countries, you are in a position to fulfil the task which I have just indicated.

For the last 150 years or more, European scholars have been devoting themselves to the study of the past of India, Egypt, Syria and also of other countries which do not fall within their Continent, and in a way they have not only been pioneers, but they are continuing and carrying on the work in the same field. We are grateful to them. But there are certain things which strike one as somewhat curious. For example, I do not know why we in India should call it an Oriental Conference although it was a very good name given by those who founded it, but it has no meaning so far as we are concerned any more than the Middle East is Middle East so far as we are concerned; I have just mentioned this because in considering all these things, we have to take a more realistic view of what is and what should

be, and I only beg you to excuse me if I have gone out of my way to say something which perhaps may not be liked by historians who attach so much value to names, dates and things of that sort.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have strayed into fields where I had no right to go, but for that I do not blame myself. I would request that in pursuit of knowledge, you will remember that you owe a duty not only to the past but also to the present and to the future and that duty is to interpret the past in such a way, to present it to the present in such a way that the present can derive good things and things of great value. Every student who studies in a medical college is required to study skeletons, not only to study skeletons but he is required to dissect bodies so that he may understand the living body better; and you have to study the past with the same interest and with the same object so that you may be able to help the present, understand it better and make it better.

I thank you once again for the honour which you have done me and I beg to inaugurate this Conference.

Advice to Students

I THANK YOU very much for the honour you have done me and for the very words that you have spoken about me although much of it was undeserved.

You are right in thinking that the country needs the service of the best of us at the present moment. You have also rightly reminded me that it is necessary to do whatever each one of us can to keep the whole of it intact.

It is not only now that the thought of a united India has come to us. We have had it from time immemorial and our ancestors had so woven together all real things in life as to make it necessary for a northerner to visit the southernmost point and for a southerner to visit the northernmost point, for an easterner to visit the westernmost point and for a westerner to visit the easternmost point. At a time when communication was difficult, when travel was a question of life and death in many places, our ancestors devised ways and means for bringing together people of distant and different parts of the country and ever since history can record, we know that this country between the Himalayas and the Seas has been one undivided country although politically and administratively there have been divisions not only between the north and the south but between different parts of the south and between different parts of north *inter se*. Political and administrative

division of this kind was only superficial because the life of the people went on smoothly in spite of political revolutions. Kings came and kings went, conquerors came and conquerors went, but the life of our people went on smoothly, as smoothly as the Ganga or the Cauvery, and this could be so because; our ancestors were wise enough to see and devise methods for keeping the whole country together.

Today, we are in the fortunate position of having not only this cultural and social unity which has pervaded the whole country all these centuries but also the political unity of this country and today there is one government whose writ runs over the whole country, one Parliament whose laws are obeyed throughout the country and there is one President for the whole country and above all there is one Constitution under which all the States of this Union function and work. So today, we are in the fortunate position of adding this political and administrative unity which was lacking in the past to the social and cultural unity which has been always there.

Therefore, it is all the greater responsibility of ours not only to maintain this unity but also to strengthen it and further it, if possible. I have no doubt that every Indian today, whether he is living in a village or in a city, whether he is a youngman or an old man, man or woman, feels that this country of ours has resources in men and materials, in intelligence and capacity and is second to none in the world and it will some day or other come to occupy a position in the comity of nations which it deserves on its own merits and by its own dint of labour. We are, therefore, all the more required to work harder now, more diligently and I may add, more intelligently also to maintain this unity. We cannot rest on our oars.

The generation to which I belong is now passing out. Therefore, soon the few that are left will have to join the majority and it will be the duty and the responsibility of younger people and some time later of you all to maintain and enhance this unity and strengthen the country and build up the India of the future. It is therefore, necessary, that students particularly should realise their responsibility.

You know there is a common saying that a thing out of place is dirt. So a thing done out of time and out of place is also wrong. What I want you to understand is that as students you have your own work to do, your own responsibility to discharge and your own functions to your energies, all your talents, all your diligence on preparing yourself for the task that lies ahead of you.

Our ancestors were wise in dividing the life of the individual into four parts. The first part was the part of preparation, the second was the life of the house-holder, the third part was the life of a person devoting himself to

public service, to social service and the fourth was that part of the life which was meant for devotion to God. I think it was a wise division and it is as valid today as it was in the days gone by. You have, therefore, to devote yourself while you are in this period of life to prepare yourself for the very heavy responsibilities which are waiting for you. Do not be in a hurry. No dutiful son should be in a hurry to succeed his father even if his father is a bad father and so you young people have to prepare yourselves so that when your turn comes, you may give a good account of yourself so that your son can be told by you to await his own time because what you are doing today your sons will do in their own time and I am quite sure you are going to have sons and daughters. Both sons as well as daughters will do what you do today and, therefore, I ask you to so shape your life as to be a model for them.

In this country there is so much to do, there are so many opportunities and occasions to be of help and service that there should be no difficulty in choosing what is the best for you. Therefore, the foremost thing for you is to prepare yourselves. I do not say that students should keep out of politics. Politics has to be studied because it covers a large part of our life. It has to be carefully pondered over and you will have to make up your mind on questions which come up from day to day for consideration of the more elderly people on whom the responsibility rests today. But it is quite a different thing to go out of schools and colleges and take part in what is called party politics. That is to say, you have to decide for yourselves under inspiration or without inspiration from others as to what line you have to take to force this man or that man, to do this thing or that thing.

I feel that the best way of service is to render service that you think best from your own point of view and leave it to others to fulfil their part and not consider as part of your duty to force the hands of others to do what is their duty. If we learn that each one of us should perform one's duty, the whole range of duty will be performed. But if we try to force each other, a great part of our energy will be cancelled against each other and instead of advancing the cause which we want to advance, we shall only be retarding it. It is a simple arithmetical problem that if you put all the forces on one side and pull one way you will go a great deal. On the other hand if you divide your forces and pull in different directions progress will be very much less if any at all. We know that you have energies, plenty of time to study things, to prepare yourselves for further action when time comes.

This State, I think, is fortunate, more fortunate than some other parts of the country, because I know you have not had as much trouble as other

parts. I congratulate you on that and I am glad I have heard it reported that the leaders of various parties here have come to a gentlemen's understanding not to tempt young people to take their sides prematurely at this age but to leave it to you, when your time comes, to do what you think best, to make up your own minds. I think that is a wise decision which can be mutually adopted by leaders of parties in other parts of the country also. I hope it will be adopted.

Not that you have to do nothing except reading your books. I was not very much of a reader myself and I think students have time at their command which can be utilised by way of social service or some other kinds of service in which they may be interested. There are numerous institutions in the cities and even more so in the villages which have to be supported because they serve the needs of the people living there and I ask you to find out opportunities of service and devote yourselves to them.

It is not by way of gaining influence for the purpose of establishing yourselves in public life that I recommend it, but I want you to take and accept that kind of work as a course of preparation so that you can get habituated to think of others, to work for other people and you can get habituated to do things which do not immediately and strictly touch you but which touch others and help others.

I remember as a young person going about in the streets, as you too must be going about now and then. You come across a betel-nut shop or *bidi* shop or a cigarette shop. You may happen to have some paise in your pocket. You see also in front of you a poor decrepit old beggar asking for help and the question presents itself to you—will you purchase *bidi* or will you give it to the poor old decrepit man? If you decide in favour of giving it away to the poor old man, I assure you, you have taken a big step in your life. It is the first step in your life which will gradually grow into a habit. Not that these paise will not actually carry you anywhere but it just instills in you a habit and you will learn how to part with them for other people and for other purposes than your own needs and fulfilment of your own selfish desires. That is a thing which has to be acquired at this stage and social service is a useful thing not because this service itself is valuable—it is valuable no doubt, but it is more useful and more desired because it instills the habit of service in young men. I ask you to be on the lookout for such occasions and take advantage of them.

It is not necessary for me to point out to you the various kinds of things which may come in your way. There may be an orphanage which requires your help. There may be social service organisations which require your service.

We are all now busy with and engaged in the big enterprise of building up the new India and that requires the help of everybody without regard to party affiliation, without regard to age, sex, class or creed and in a matter like that you can render such service as you find it possible for you to render and for which you consider yourselves fit.

Take for example, the plans for raising money for the big projects which we are having, not raising money by subscription but inducing people to save money and invest it in them. It serves both the purposes. It serves the individual to save and the money is utilised for national purpose and you as individuals going about, mixing with various classes of people can as a side activity take to that and do your best to help it.

Similarly, there are any number of activities in which you can associate yourselves and I assure you that anything that you do in this line will go to build your character. We need in India nothing more than the need for good, strong and sturdy character. Man without character cannot do much for himself, much less can he do for others. Today when we have attained independence, we need this character more than we ever needed it before.

So, as I have told you, time for work and sacrifice has not gone. It is still there and as I have often said, that kind of devoted service is required more now than when we were engaged in the national struggle. It is in a sense more difficult also because in those days we had an excitement which sometimes is very helpful in making people do things which they otherwise would not do in cooler moments. Today there is no such excitement. On the other hand everything appears to be more or less normal and it is all the more necessary that people devote themselves to the silent labour for the country. You will be doing greater service to yourselves and to the country if you prepare yourselves for your own day and in the meantime prepare yourselves by equipping yourself which will enable you to render greater service in the future.

Kalidasa

IT HAS GIVEN me great pleasure to have come to this ancient town for participating in the Kalidasa Jayanti celebrations. I am not saying it as a matter of formality, for meeting scholars of repute and listening to learned discourses on Kalidasa is a rare opportunity and a great privilege.

For the last many years, particularly since Kalidasa Jayanti began to be celebrated every year, mainly as a result of the efforts of Shri Surya

Narayana Vyas and his associates, there has been perceptible awakening among the educated class about this great poet. People like me who have been educated through the medium of English will appreciate the importance of this development, though our knowledge of Sanskrit may not be deep. It is because, firstly, Kalidasa's poetry is of such high order that on its own merit it has kept the memory of the poet alive so that up to this day he is counted among the foremost litterateurs of the world. It is only natural that the educated class should be attracted towards a genius of such exceptional brilliance.

Secondly, those educated according to the Western system of education know full well the honour which is done by the people of England to Shakespeare. The high place which Shakespeare occupies among the English-speaking people should also belong to Kalidasa in India. When we see that the common people in India are not well conversant with Kalidasa and his works and for that reason are not able to give him the high place in the country's public life which his literary genius entitles him to, we cannot but feel sorry. It is, therefore, only natural that seeing how great poets and artists are honoured in other countries we should also seek to make up for our past remissness.

In this direction the people of Madhya Pradesh, particularly the literary circles of Ujjain, have done well in organising the celebration of Kalidasa's anniversary for the last 28 years or so. It is gratifying that these celebrations are getting more and more popular every year and as a result thereof wide consciousness is dawning on at least the educated people about Kalidasa and his graphic description of the town of Avantika. This is just the beginning of a great undertaking and as such has its own importance. I would like to congratulate the people of Ujjain, particularly those associated with these celebrations, on their efforts.

There may be difference of opinion as to the exact time when Kalidasa flourished. Let me hope that as a result of further researches and deeper study of his works it would be possible to arrive at a date acceptable to all. Be that as it may, it is not open to doubt that Kalidasa was born in this country, that he wrote all his plays in India and that it is the geography, the natural scenery and the social conditions obtaining at that time in India which have gone to form the background of his literary works. This is a historical fact which cannot be disputed.

As Indians, we can legitimately feel proud of Kalidasa and his great works, but let us not forget that on account of his rare genius and the excellence of his poetry he is often looked upon as a citizen of the world. When the western countries had their first contact with India in the modern

age and some western scholars studied Sanskrit, it were the works of Kalidasa which gave them the norm for adjudging Indian culture and our literary traditions. It was then that the work of rendering the plays of Kalidasa into European languages began and the educated people of the West started showing eagerness to know more about the Sanskrit language and literature. It will be largely true to say that the people of India who were getting somewhat indifferent to this literary heritage began feeling proud of Kalidasa and other prominent literary figures as a result of this reappraisal of our literature by western scholars.

My object in saying all this is that the educated people the world over count Kalidasa among the biggest literary giants of all ages. This universal recognition imposes on us a heavy responsibility to do full honour to the life and literary contribution of such a great poet as Kalidasa. It becomes our duty to see that Kalidasa's achievements do not remain confined to the four walls of our colleges and universities but become a subject of popular interest throughout India.

It is difficult to say exactly how far Kalidasa's works in themselves have been responsible for the wider recognition which Sanskrit literature has received for its excellence and universality. We can, however, be sure that no single poet or writer has contributed as much to the enrichment of Sanskrit literature as Kalidasa. We might ask, what are those qualities which have earned Kalidasa so much fame and popularity and put his plays among world's best works. Apart from his inimitable style, his poetic diction and his extraordinary mastery over the use of metaphors, the foremost peculiarity in Kalidasa's works is the surprising success with which he has harmonised the real with the ideal. His description of nature and its beauties and the delineation of human character is so superb and so realistic that no one who reads it can help being fascinated by it. With the help of his rich imagination and poetic genius he has made several observations about human nature which win always remain as perennial truths.

The time when Kalidasa flourished is known as the golden age of Sanskrit literature, but even among the writers of that age Kalidasa has come to be known as an epoch-making poet. It seems to me that its main reason is that Kalidasa's works are truly representative of the Indian literary tradition. Some scholars are of the view that the *Sringara* of Kalidasa is idealistic and that his idealism has a touch of *Sringara*. That is why his plays are considered as breathing the spirit of the times when they were written.

In spite of all this, Kalidasa may be said to be a universal poet in the real sense of the term, because his characterisation of human nature and

depiction of the intricacies of the mental world are so perfect that they hold the mirror to the entire human society. When we see a character in his plays overjoyed, we are overtaken by a feeling of pleasure; when one of them is in mourning, our heart goes out to share his grief; and when we see one of them in distress, a feeling of pain creeps over us. This is the best test of the excellence of a piece of literature. This is the experience of all readers of Kalidasa irrespective of their creed or nationality.

Kalidasa's plays have been translated in nearly all the major languages of the world and have been recognised for their literary excellence. Some of his plays have been so popular in England, Germany, France and other European countries that they have also been enacted on the stage. Soviet Russia has gone to the extent of honouring Kalidasa with a special commemorative postal stamp issued by its Government this year. Similarly, Asian countries like China and Japan have also paid handsome tributes to Kalidasa and honoured his memory in many ways.

Gratifying as all these developments are, one feels somewhat unhappy that in the country of his birth, Kalidasa has not yet been given the place to which his genius and the great Indian nation are entitled. To be sure, the plays of Kalidasa are no mere text-books. Nor are they merely a source of recreation or acquiring knowledge. His works are a veritable link in the chain of India's intellectual, mental and literary development. Kalidasa is the herald of a new age characterised by new social and aesthetic trends. In fact, Kalidasa's works are indissolubly linked with those human ideals and norms of behaviour which are acquired through centuries of experience and enforced by cultural sanctions. Let the people of this country understand this and adopt in their national life the ideals of patriotism, national unity, goodwill towards all and high aesthetic sense, embodied in Kalidasa's works. In this would consist the success of the Kalidasa Parishad and the efforts of all of you gentlemen.

I am very happy to say that an organised effort is now being made in this direction. The general situation in the country is also favourable. Not only Indian but also several foreign universities have begun to show special interest in Kalidasa, as a result of which the circle of his admirers is fast widening.

My feeling is that we should do all that a free country can to honour Kalidasa and to keep his memory fresh. But at the same time, I think Kalidasa's best memorial are his own literary works. The more we study them and try to appreciate them the greater will be the advantage to us and at the same time the greater the honour we do to his memory. I would suggest one of the best means of propagating Kalidasa's literature would

be to render his works in all the Indian languages so that both the original Sanskrit and the translation are available to every reader. We should also try to establish Kalidasa literary circles and hold special seminars to discuss and appreciate his literary expressions, his poetic beauties and the picture drawn in his works of the social and political conditions of India of those days. All the researches so far carried out about the birthplace and the date of birth and the life of Kalidasa generally should be made public and an intensive research done on all controversial points. If the Kalidasa Smriti Samaroh succeeds in focusing public attention on these points, it will have fulfilled one of its main objectives.

I am glad to announce on behalf of the Government that it has been decided to issue a special commemorative postal stamp in honour of Kalidasa. I am sure everyone here will welcome this move.

I am grateful to the conveners of this function for having invited me and thus providing me with a chance to say something on this occasion. It is my hope and prayer, that the Kalidasa Parishad and the Kalidasa Smriti Samaroh would achieve success in their respective undertakings.

Raising Teachers' Pay and Status

THE INSTITUTION OF the National Awards for teachers by the Union Ministry of Education is a step which everyone interested in education in general and in raising the prestige and social status of teachers in particular, will warmly welcome. As one who firmly believes that one of the essentials of good education and the creating of proper atmosphere in the educational institutions is the relationship between the teacher and the taught, I have always felt that the position of the teacher must be rehabilitated so that he inspires popular respect and comes to enjoy something of the status which teachers or *gurus* in ancient India enjoyed.

Whenever this question is raised, a number of difficulties crop up and in sheer self-defence they are readily adduced by regional administrations. The chief of these difficulties springs from the impression that it is not possible to raise the status of the teacher without raising his emoluments, which, in turn, would involve an additional expenditure of many crores. This works like a dead-wall and once the argument is stated the question is dropped as readily as it was raised.

No one can deny that one's economic position has much to do with one's status in society. It is, however, equally untrue that social status is

synonymous with affluence. It is so easy to imagine an affluent person enjoying little social status or a man with good social standing having meager resources. There are, therefore, other factors also which go to the making of what is known as status in society. It is up to the teachers and, more than that, up to our society which in this case largely means the employers of teachers, to bring those factors into play.

By improving their general bearing, their qualifications, their attitude towards students and the profession of teaching, the teachers could bring about a change in the present situation. It is up to them to show greater interest in the well being of their students by bringing the spirit of dedication to bear on the calling which they have espoused. In the same way it is the duty of our society, particularly the employer of teachers to show special regard for them and to have for them a consideration commensurate with the importance of the great task entrusted to them. It must be realised that after the parents and the atmosphere of home the biggest influence that moulds a child is that of the school and of the teachers who impart instruction to him. Once these facts are realised both by the teachers and their employers, I see no reason why the general outlook about the position of teachers in society should not change for the better.

What I have said above does not imply that no effort should be made to improve the economic lot of teachers. It is a fact after all that most of the teachers, particularly those working in the primary schools in rural areas, have been rather poorly paid so far. They are, therefore, entitled to the sympathy of the public when they demand better scales of salary. I am conscious of the fact that in spite of heavy commitments of the Union and the State Governments a sympathetic consideration has been given to this demand everywhere, as a result of which salary scales have been bettered in many States. I am sure the Union Education Ministry in consultation with Governments of the States will always give the same consideration to it whenever this question comes up before them as it may from time to time. About the importance of the teacher in our social set-up and the need to pay him reasonably well, there are no two opinions. If, however, every teacher has not yet got what he demands or at least what the employers themselves consider reasonable, financial stringency is the only reason. I have every reason to believe that as the financial situation goes on improving, more and more sympathetic consideration will be given to the teachers' demands.

Meanwhile the Government of India have done well in taking a practical step towards raising the status and prestige of teachers by instituting these National Awards. These awards imply and actually confer recognition on

the teachers and the profession of teaching. National Awards have been instituted for conferring recognition on some other professions or occupations in the same way. For example, awards have been instituted for artistes and authors in order to encourage fine arts and the producers of literature. Similar awards were instituted some years ago for cultivators with a view to encouraging intensive cultivation of land and stepping up production. I hope the good results achieved in those spheres have furnished the justification for introducing it to the educational sphere, and let me further hope that it will show the same encouraging results there also.

I would like to congratulate the teachers who have been selected for the conferment of the National Awards. Let me hope their example and the services rendered by them to the profession of teaching will set the pace for our educational set up of the future.

Rabindra Bhavan

IT IS NOT only a matter of pleasure but also of honour to have been asked to lay the foundation-stone of Rabindra Bhavan, which is going to house the three National Akademies that cover among themselves nearly the entire range of activity in the sphere of art and literature. A composite building, providing adequate accommodation to the offices of the Akademies has been keenly felt ever since these Akademies started working and got into the strides. Though each one of them has its own well-defined sphere of activity, all of them seek to promote art and encourage artistic expression, whether it uses the medium of letters or dance and music or stone and canvas. All these activities spring basically, from the same urge, namely, to give expression to man's emotional life. It is the different media employed for the purpose that demarcate them from each other.

When the need for providing a suitable building for the three Akademies was felt and after it was decided to make the necessary arrangements to construct one, the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and others connected with the project could not have done better than naming it after the great poet, Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore was undoubtedly a towering literary figure whose eminence was recognised internationally long ago, but his genius was so versatile and the artistic urges in him so strong that poetry alone could not contain them. From poetry he stepped into the realms of drama, dance and music with equal facility. Whatever he composed, he himself set to music and the plays and dramas he wrote were

Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of Rabindra Bhavan at New Delhi, April 14, 1959.

also produced by him, Tagore himself playing a role in them. As he grew in years and perfected these media of artistic expression, the gamut of Tagore's genius further widened and he sought still fresh avenues of self-expression. He began to devote himself to painting, expressing himself through colour and line.

In short, art pervaded Tagore's whole being and he led a life dedicated to art. In his life and personality the various fine arts thus found a meeting place. That is why, I feel we have not known in this country for many centuries another figure whose life and works were as representative of Art in general as Rabindranath Tagore's. The association of his name with this building, where votaries of art would be working, will be a perennial source of inspiration for all.

The three National Akademies dealing with literature, dance, drama and music and fine arts like painting and sculpture have been in existence only for a short while. It is so gratifying to see that these Akademies have already occupied in our national life the place which we thought should belong to them. They are fast becoming the rallying points for young talent and a source of encouragement to established artists. The great constructive forces released by the freedom of the country are being channelised by these Akademies and I have no doubt that in course of time these will have built up a status and a tradition which will inspire the respect and loyalty to art of Indian artists of all schools and thoughts. The National Akademies are being gradually recognised as public forums working for the advancement of art with the support of the State but free from its control.

I wonder if I need say anything on the importance of art in life. In schools students are taught how a machine differs from the human body. There are no doubt many differences between these two as pointed out and demonstrated by scientists, but for the layman the most striking difference is provided by man's capacity to rise above his environments with the aid of, and by building upon, his emotional urges. Most of the things that have gone to constitute the human heritage and of which humanity feels proud, are in some way, directly or indirectly, the outcome of the play of this faculty in man. This capacity has not only been responsible for the creation of tangible works of art which command our admiration; it has also been the principal means of man's sublimation, his intellectual growth and social refinement. What we call culture is essentially a product of these developments.

I would like to congratulate the three National Akademies on the prospect of having this proposed building as their headquarters. Let me also compliment the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs which

has helped the Akademies in the realization of their dream. As Prof. Humayun Kabir has said this building will have all the amenities which one can hope for.

I am no artist and cannot claim any authority to be able to judge works of art, but even a layman with untrained eyes can see and appreciate a beautiful picture or a piece of architecture. He can also appreciate good music and enjoy a good drama. As we are going to build a house for our Akademies and to name it after the greatest artist of our age, I have a suggestion or two to make from the layman's point of view.

Modern buildings have plenty of arrangements and gadgets for the comfort and convenience of those who work in them and to enable them to do the allotted work in better conditions. We have in New Delhi any number of big buildings which are quite comfortable and commodious from the point of view of those who work therein; but I am not sure if all or many of them have sufficient aesthetic appeal to inspire the layman's admiration.

The building you propose to have will house not only the Administrative Block, which in all probability would rise high and dominate the other blocks of the structure, but also two other wings, namely, the Exhibition Block and the Theatre Block. Let me hope that like the Administrative Block the administrative activity will not be allowed to dominate the independent growth and expression of artistic genius.

I hope also that the plan of this building has been conceived with special reference to and greater regard for artistic expression than mere administrative efficiency.

We have a rich tradition of architecture in India, going back to centuries. It has not only imparted technique and models to other countries but also freely borrowed from them and thus, developed a composite style and tradition of its own. The building intended to house our Akademies should be truly representative of our culture today, based as it is on age-old traditions of assimilation and give and take. I do hope that it will be symbolic and a model of our artistic genius and not a mere copy of something with plenty of comforts within but no more inspiring than a series of pigeon-holes on a gigantic scale without. I suggest that the exterior of the building should have its aesthetic value no less than the utility value of the interior. What I have just said is not in criticism of the plan of the proposed building as I have not seen the plan but only a suggestion and an expression of a hope of what a layman would wish this great structure to be.

I have great pleasure now to lay the foundation-stone of the Rabindra Bhavan.

Films as Means of Education

I HAVE GREAT pleasure to be here again to give away the State Awards to the producers of films adjudged best last year. Associated as I have been with this function for quite a few years, I can now claim to know something about our film industry, its problems and its possibilities. I must admit that continued goodness on the part of my friend, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, who has always insisted on inviting me to give away these Awards, is the primary factor which has contributed to my belated education in certain aspects of the film industry.

Lately, another thing attracted my notice and heightened my interest in India's film industry. To my pleasant surprise I found Indian films being exhibited in most of the countries of South-East Asia which I had occasion to visit in recent months. When I learnt that a picture house in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia) was exhibiting an Indian film, I was not surprised because I knew there is a large Indian population living in that town. But when I found the same thing in Phnom penh (Camodia), I did feel somewhat surprised, because the Indian population there number hardly more than a few hundred. Later on I was told that Indian films were not only witnessed by the Indian community there but also by good many local people. Even though the local population did not understand Hindi, they managed to derive entertainment and recreation from these films. I believe it is the art content in these pictures which has an appeal for most of the people of South-East Asian countries.

This casual evidence of the popularity of Indian films, I thought, should make us all the more careful, if not punctilious, in the matter of production and selection of themes and actual presentation. Though a film may be mainly devoted to portraying a particular situation in life or the state of society, past or present, unwittingly we are all the time portraying Indian life. This fact should never be lost sight of. But more than the likes and dislikes of foreign audiences, it is the requirements of the Indian people which have to determine our standards in art and social, educational and moral well-being. These standards are more or less universal so that what is good and moral for our people is bound to be so for people of other countries as well.

Apart from providing recreation and healthy relaxation, which in itself is an important thing, films are thought of in the modern world as a highly valuable instruction of education. Both psychologically and pedagogically,

the screen has come to be recognised as a very potent means of disseminating useful information and thereby inculcating desirable habits and social traits. One peculiarity of this medium is that, because of its dependence on audio-visual stimuli, it is applicable to all age-groups. That is to say, a good film makes an impression not only on the mind of the child or the adult but also on that of the grown-up. For this reason films are marked out as one of the most effective means of educating the people. I am not sure if in this country we have so far been able to make as much use of this medium as some of the more advanced countries are said to have done. I do feel that fullest possible co-ordination is called for between the producers of films and those responsible for educating the Nation.

For the purpose to which I have just now referred, I believe it is the documentaries and feature films that are most suited. I am glad that importance is attached to these types of films and that during the last ten or fifteen years we have made considerable progress in this direction. Our documentaries have covered a wide range of subjects of national importance like our ancient monuments, our cultural institutions, our social life, our economic projects and so on. I think there is need to accelerate the pace of this progress and to make a concentrated attack through popular documentaries and feature films on social evils and the eradication of disease and ignorance.

I am glad that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has been devoting adequate attention to giving encouragement to the film industry as a whole raising the standard of Indian films. As is evident from the number of films produced every year and the other relevant statistics, the policy of encouraging the film industry is having the desired effect. I hope, efforts to improve the standard of films are also meeting with success, though as a very casual seer of films I am not in a position to say much about this matter.

But one thing is clear, much in this respect would depend upon the film industry itself. Unless it co-operates with Government fully and is inspired by the ideals of social and moral well-being of the Nation, mere censoring or laying down criteria cannot be expected to achieve much. The film industry bears a heavy responsibility and it must adjust the moral requirements with the commercial aspect of film production. Unless that is done, the progress of the film industry would mean its one-sided growth.

The steps that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is proposing to take in this connection are calculated to place the film industry of the country on a sound footing. Government's decision to set up a Film Finance Corporation for advancing loans to film producers will go a long way in

stabilizing the industry. The proposal to set up a Film Institute, meant to impart training in the various aspects of film production, is also commendable. Let me hope, both of these proposals when implemented will have the desired effect on the growth and all-round development of the Indian film industry.

I have pleasure in welcoming here, this evening, the producers and artistes who have been adjudged deserving of the State Awards. I congratulate them all.

Public Schools

I AM VERY happy to have been able to come here to participate in the Annual Day function of the Birla Vidya Mandir. This invitation had been extended to me in early years also but for one reason or the other it was not possible for me to accept it. I feel glad that this year again you invited me and in response to your invitation I could come here.

I have listened carefully to the Annual Report detail in the activities of your school. Let us hope that the boys who pass out from your school will be proficient not only in studies but will be considered as outstanding from the point of view of character and general behaviour. On the success of your school I congratulate the teachers and the students and all those connected with the management of this institution.

My knowledge of the working of the public schools may not be very adequate, but I can say that in recent years I have had personal contact with quite a few of them. In these schools, you do not lay stress only on reading and writing but seek to accomplish all-round development of the student. In addition to the study of prescribed courses, stress is laid on sports, discipline and what is known as character-building. We know it from our everyday experience that as a result of inadequate contact between the teacher and the taught not only does education suffer but a number of social problems crop up. It should be considered a self-evident truth that education of a child would be successful in proportion to the close contact between the teacher and the students. This was the key to the success of the Gurukul system in ancient India, although it never attained anything like nation-wide popularity. In those days, the question of expenses to be borne by the parents also did not assume the gravity it has done today. The public schools of today are able to devote individual attention on every student on account of their adequate resources and the limited number of students on the rolls. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the schools should be

popular in the country, so much so that they are not able to admit all the boys who seek admission and some of them at least have to be either disappointed or remain on the waiting list for some time. All this goes to prove the utility and the popularity of the public schools.

With all this it has also to be accepted that education in public schools is pretty expensive. Only rich parents can afford to send their children to them. I do not think there are any public schools in India where the average monthly expenditure per child comes to less than Rs. 100. That is why, a section of the people think that there can be no place for such a system of education in a poor country like India, in the present circumstances at any rate. They contend that on account of this system school-going children are divided into two categories of rich and poor, which is not desirable from the point of view of national education.

I cannot say how far this view is logical, but it has to be admitted that sanction of grant-in-aid by Government to these schools can be a controversial matter. In respect of education, Government's efforts are at the moment concentrated on the eradication of illiteracy, though every possible effort is being made for providing additional facilities for technical and university education as well. Our resources are not adequate even for these essential undertakings. Giving of grants-in-aid in these circumstances to public schools, from which only the children of the rich benefit, does not seem to be feasible. I remember a conference of the principals of public schools was held in New Delhi some time ago. The Union Minister for Education had expressed his difficulty on the question of grant-in-aid at that time. Everyone agrees that these schools maintain a high standard of education and their students on the whole are better equipped educationally than those who study in ordinary schools. Even so, the question is how far it would be appropriate that in the face of financial stringency, national resources should be utilised for the benefit of only a small section of the people.

The Government has thought of a way to get over this difficulty, and that is by encouraging parents with limited income to send their children to these schools through the institution of liberal scholarships. I also think that the only way of solving this problem is to try to bring down the expenses of these schools and to widen the scope of these schools through grant of scholarships. It is necessary that privately managed public schools also adopt this proposal so that promising but poor children are also able to benefit from the education provided in these schools.

What I have said above may not be palatable to all, but it is absolutely true and no realist can afford to lose sight of it. It is nice indeed that the

public schools maintain high standard of education and that they turn out students who have the potential of becoming good citizens. Nevertheless, we have also before us the question of national education whose requirements cannot be ignored. Patriotism, national welfare and wisdom demand that we try to harmonise these self-contradictory trends. As far as I know, this is what the Government is aiming at. The Government wishes well of public schools and wants them to flourish, but it is also keen that our national resources are used for the good of the largest numbers. The founders and the managing bodies of the public schools are liberal and patriotic enough to accept these views and to make a success not only of the institutions in their charge but also of the policy laid down by the Government. About this institution, at least I can say that its founders and the Birla Education Trust have been known for widening the scope of their educational institutions to enable the largest possible number of people to avail of them through the provision of scholarships and other facilities.

The working of the public schools was in tune with the conditions prevailing before the country's freedom. Those who received their education in these schools could go in for government jobs with greater chances of success. But conditions have since changed and are still changing. It calls for necessary changes or adjustments in your plans and programmes also. This you can do by laying greater stress on the general development of boys and the future needs of the country than on service requirements.

The Principal in his report has referred to certain similarities between public school education and the system of Basic Education. If that is correct and there is a common meeting ground between the two systems, at least in theory, it is indeed gratifying. The main gulf that separates the two is the question of expenditure involved in educating a child. Gandhiji thought of the system of Basic Education primarily to cut down the cost of education, because he thought that by following this system, at least a part of the expenses could be met by the schools themselves. I cannot say how far our experiment in Basic Education has succeeded. Nevertheless, it will be a great thing if the public school education and Basic Education could be brought closer to each other. It has pleased me to know that students of the Birla Vidya Mandir are encouraged to take active interest in art and handicrafts and those opportunities are provided to them to do manual labour in order to produce such things. I would like that efforts in this direction should continue to be made.

It has given me great pleasure to have come here today and to have seen all of you, particularly the young students. I wish the Birla Vidya Mandir to make further progress and render still greater service to the nation.

Students and Their Responsibilities

I AM GLAD to have availed myself of this opportunity of visiting the St. Joseph's College, which is probably the oldest educational institution in Nainital. You can certainly feel proud of the fact that your college was established more than 70 years ago and since then you have throughout continued to impart knowledge and dispel ignorance. There is something in age not only in respect of human beings, but also of institutions like yours. The feeling of continuity and unbroken tradition has something in it which imperceptibly inspires us. I believe it is more so in case of social organisations and institutions which tend to profit from experience with greater objectivity than man. I am, therefore, not at all surprised to know how the St. Joseph's College has grown from year to year and come to have the strength and reputation which it has today.

I had occasion to visit another school in Nainital a few days ago. As I find that scene repeated here and a few hundred young boys eager to welcome me and to listen to what I am going to say, old thoughts come back to my mind. The temptation is to talk to the Principal and other members of the teaching staff who are primarily responsible for imparting instruction and moulding the character of the boys here. But, with your permission, Mr. Principal, I would prefer to say a few words to the students themselves.

My dear boys, you must have heard your Principal's speech. As he has said, India is today world's biggest democracy and you have the distinction of belonging to it as its future citizens and builders. We old people to whom power was handed over by foreign rulers in 1947 have done and are doing whatever we can to ensure that our people have better living conditions, that all children in the country have something like the facilities which you enjoy in this nice school, that poverty, ignorance and disease are eradicated from this land of ours and that we lay strong foundations of India of the future. We are doing whatever we can to achieve these things, but do not forget, the responsibility to raise a proper edifice on the foundation which we are laying is going to be yours, because you are the future citizens of this country. So, while attending to your day-to-day work, while learning and playing as much as you can, give a thought occasionally to your future responsibilities. To be able to discharge those responsibilities well, you have not necessarily to think of anything extraneous. By discharging your present responsibilities well, that is to say by giving a good account of yourself as a student, you will also be making sure that you will, when you have grown

up, become good citizens. It is of the utmost importance that you give a good account of yourself while you are here in this institution. Just as we are trying to lay the foundation of future India, this institution and whatever you do here will go to lay the foundation of your future,

You have been good enough, Mr. Principal, to refer to me and whatever little I have been able to do for my country as a public man, in eulogising terms. I must thank you heartily for all the good things you have said about me, though I must say that I feel that I hardly deserve them and have to be constantly and continuously striving to deserve even a part of what you have said. You have also referred to the similarity of conditions through which this country and your native land have had to pass. God be thanked that we have emerged from bondage to freedom and that in spite of the tragedy that accompanied the birth of freedom, we are set on the road to betterment and development. Big or small, high or low, whatever we are, we have to do our duty. In a vast country like India, with its teeming millions and its endless problems of reconstruction, the only way to achieve our cherished goal is that every man does his duty wherever he is stationed. It does not mean that people should not work hard and try to improve their lot. It only means that the country expects everyone to contribute his might to the gigantic effort that we are making in this vast country to establish a real welfare state. Our past thought and centuries-old lofty traditions give us strength and our present intentions and unflinching resolve go a long way in convincing us that we are bound to succeed, in the interest of the 400 million people living in this country and many more living elsewhere.

I thank you, Mr. Principal, for inviting me to visit this college. I wish as till brighter future for the St. Joseph's College and the best of luck to all those engaged in teaching and learning here.

Catching up with Progress

I AM GLAD that I have had this opportunity of laying the foundation stone of the Library Hall of the Medical College of Bangalore. I need hardly point out how essential it is at the present moment to provide facilities for higher and higher medical education in this country. In a vast country like this, we do not have sufficient number of qualified medical practitioners and now that we are adopting the allopathic system more or less in preference to other systems which are languishing, lack of medical aid, particularly in the rural areas, is becoming more and more evident and persistent. It is, therefore, in

Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Library Hall of the Medical College, Bangalore, June 15, 1959.

the fitness of things that medical institutions should grow up. It is equally essential that these medical institutions should be well-equipped to give the necessary qualifications and instruction to their students. I am, therefore, glad that this institution which has grown up within the last few years and is still in the process of development, is making all necessary provisions so that the alumni of this institution may come out as well-equipped physicians and surgeons of the modern type. For an institution like this, a well-equipped library is an absolute necessity.

Science has been making such tremendous progress and at such a great speed that it is difficult for anyone engaged in the pursuit of science or for anyone engaged in practising any of its practical branches, to keep pace with the progress that is being made. Take for example, medicine itself. Within the last thirty or thirty five years of which I have personal experience, I find many new drugs have come into existence, many methods of treatment has undergone fundamental change and the outlook of many of the problems facing the medical profession, has undergone a complete change. I have been a patient as is well known for a long time, and I can say from personal experience the various kinds of changes that have taken place at least in the treatment of the disease from which I have been more or less a life-long sufferer, and I remember the days when small prescriptions which were dispensed in dispensaries could give what relief they could and I now find the preparations which come from distant lands and which do not require any dispensing but which require nonetheless great skill in the physician in administering them, without which skill they are liable to do as much damage, if not more damage than the good which they are expected to do; and it is, therefore, absolutely necessary that anyone who professes or wishes to qualify himself in this great science, should keep himself up-to-date. For that purpose, not only a well-equipped library of books which have been written and which are considered authoritative but which become more or less out of date every second year, but also journals and magazines dealing with different aspects of medical science and treatment should be provided in a library where students, no less than the teachers would be able to study them.

It is, therefore, a very happy idea that in connection with this growing institution, you have taken advantage of having a good and well-equipped library which will give all these facilities to the students and to the professors.

As the Governor had been good enough to point out, the need for medical men in the country is very great, and the need is nowhere greater than in the rural areas, large parts of which have no facilities for any kind of medical relief. The old systems are quickly disappearing, gradually giving

way to the new system, but the new system is not able to take that place yet, and as has been pointed out, the one reason for that is lack of men. But I believe there are other reasons too. The new system is a fairly expensive one, expensive not only because it requires greater equipment, but also because it insists upon various kinds of physical examinations, pathological examination by specialists in even the ordinary cases; and the medicines which are used for treating complicated diseases many of which are perhaps new and the result of progressive industrialisation and modern facilities for great speed and for the tensions which life in modern times involves. All this is bound to make treatment more and more difficult. I do not know how far it is possible to go back to old things, but there is one thing which even the medical profession cannot easily ignore and that is the absolute necessity of simplifying things. I know in the olden days a well-qualified physician had simply to put his hand on the pulse of the patient and he was able to diagnose the disease and to prescribe for it, and perhaps to cure it in many cases, if not in as many cases as the modern medicine does, at any rate in a good proportion of cases. But today, for that simple process, we have got so many examinations, so many instruments, so many well-equipped laboratories and so many well-qualified persons to complete one case satisfactorily. I would suggest to the medical profession to simplify these things as far as possible. I do not know how far they will succeed, but the attention that it deserves should be given to it and a new direction given to all our medical researches. I know that in countries which are rich, which have great resources and laboratories, all these other requirements can easily be provided, but in a country like India which is poor and which will take many many years to come up to the standards of other countries, imitation of the same methods, following of the same procedure, will not succeed in giving relief that is required. It may do well for a few, for the well-to-do, but I believe the life of the poor man is as necessary for the society as that of the rich man, perhaps in some cases the poor man's life is more necessary because he serves while the rich man enjoys; and, therefore, it is that we have to carry out researches in the direction of simplifying things so that even in this country our people may get advantage of the latest discoveries of medical science. I know it is not easy, but at the same time we can never achieve anything like that unless we turn Our attention to it, and what I plead for is a change of attitude, a change in the direction of all our research, a change in the direction of changing methods which are not suitable to us but from which we should be able to derive the same advantages and the same benefit. It is for medical people to think out how best they can do it.

Again, the medical profession is not only a career. It is also a kind of service, and therefore those who take to this profession should take it in the missionary spirit and should be prepared to serve wherever their services can be best utilised. I need not, therefore, emphasize or reiterate the advice which the Governor has given.

Shall I say that I appreciate the efforts of this college for another peculiar reason? I have just heard that it was started as a private effort on the part of some people and even the students contributed to the building of this institution. Since we attained independence, I have noticed one thing which sometimes causes me anxiety. While we are making progress in many directions, I find that the people, on the whole, are losing initiative and independence of action, depending for everything on the government. I know in my childhood days we had no primary schools in the villages. The village people used to maintain a teacher; the well-to-do contributed a larger share and the poorer people perhaps contributed nothing and the teacher who was maintained by the village gave free tuition to the children of the village. Today, even for a primary school, people run to the District Board or to the Government. Similarly, for medical relief, we did not have dispensaries in the villages, there used to be an Indian physician or *vaidya*, and in some places a *hakim* who set up practice in a village and would give relief to the people who came to him for relief. The well-to-do people would give him enough to maintain himself and the poorer people would only derive benefit not only from his skill but also the medicine which was supplied. But in place of that, now we require dispensaries and these dispensaries cannot be either created or maintained except with government help. Not only in these two respects but in almost every respect, even in the matter of sports, we have to depend upon government support. I say that this is a sign not of growth but of weakness and the Government too, on its side, is taking upon itself too much responsibility by providing almost everything to the people, including now food.

I do not look upon all this as a very healthy sign for the future. I want people to depend more upon themselves. After all, democracy demands every individual to be free not only in the sense of being able to talk but free also in the sense that he is able to look after himself. It is only that kind of freedom which will enable us to become a great and big nation.

Therefore, I look upon many of these things with a certain amount of suspicion and hesitation. I am, therefore, glad that this institution has its beginning in the effort of people, in self-help and I am happy that at this stage Government have taken it over and are going to make it an ideal institution from many points of view. All that is for the good. It would not have been possible for private effort to build and maintain a big institution

like that. It was good that private effort and self-help showed the way and it was equally good for the Government to have recognized the value of that help and to come to its help.

I congratulate those who started the institution and I congratulate also the Government which was able to give recognition to it and to come to its help when the time came. I am happy that you have given me this opportunity of laying the foundation stone and I thank you heartily for this opportunity.

Importance of Extra-Curricular Activities

IT HAS BEEN rightly pointed out that this is the first occasion when I have come to address the Union of students of the Delhi University. There have been occasions when I have delivered speeches in this hall and I have no doubt that on those occasions the greater part of the audience consisted of the students. But this is the first occasion when I come to address a meeting of the Union on an invitation extended to me by the Vice-Chancellor as Patron of the Union.

While I have been listening to the very interesting report about the way in which and the objective with which this Union has been founded, and the work that it has been doing during its short existence, from the Vice-Chancellor as well as from the Secretary of the Union, my memory has gone back to more than 50 years ago when I was a student. In those days we did not have large universities but we had universities which were affiliating universities, which did not have any institutions of their own, but which had a large number of institutions spread over the whole province affiliated to them, teaching different subjects of different standards. We did not have, as far as I know, a Union in the college where I studied, the Presidency College, till I joined it and the Union which was then started had more or less the same functions which your Union has except that it was a Union of students belonging to one college, namely, the Presidency College of Calcutta. Later on, it fell to my lot to organize a federation of students' unions and other students' organizations spread over the whole province of Bihar and that was when I was a student and when, I believe, I fulfilled the conditions which you have laid down for office-bearers of your Union and I had not become a politician or a professional union man. That was in 1906 and I can assure you that the experience which not only I but

all others with whom I worked and who worked with me gained then stood us in good stead in our later life.

It gave us not only opportunities for improving our education by improving our style of writing because we all had to write essays, deliver speeches, take part in debates and discussions and things of that sort but it also taught us how to work in an organisation how to build up an organisation, how to conduct its affairs and how to work shoulder to shoulder with others with many of whom we may not and do not agree. We gained all this experience and my experience was all the richer because it was spread over the whole province of Bihar and not confined to one single institution.

We made it a point to exclude politics from it. You might recall that in those days the big Swadeshi movement of Bengal was going on and any movement or agitation was suspect and, therefore, the sheer instinct of self-preservation forced us to declare that the students' organisation had nothing to do with politics, but we did not like to be so simple as to cut ourselves away from politics whether extremist or moderate, and we placed ourselves in position from where we could declare that we were not unpatriotic, and while not directly and openly taking part in politics, we would be free to study political questions and also discuss them amongst ourselves without taking any active part in politics as it was in those days. Of course, the field of politics at the time was also not like politics of today. We did not then have assemblies and Parliament as we have today. Such public life as was there was confined to Congress Committees and similar other organisations which were also nothing like what we came to have after 1920 and so the experience then gained was very valuable. It was not only the experience in the field of debates in assemblies but also in the field of social service because it was on behalf of that organisation that we used to take interest in times of distress like floods and things of that sort which frequently used to visit and unfortunately do visit even now the part from which I come and the experience so gained was so varied in character and it created such a deep impression on us that when a little later the time came for us to plunge ourselves into politics we did it with alacrity.

The students' conference of Bihar functioned regularly without break, perhaps more regularly than many political institutions of those days until Mahatma Gandhi came on the field and opened up a very much bigger arena for all of us to jump into. After 1920, the students' conference lost much of its importance because many of us who were taking a leading part in it became leaders of the non-co-operation movement of Bihar and today many of the important positions are being held by those who were in the students' organisation in those days.

So although I have no experience, unfortunately, for me, of the Unions of Cambridge and Oxford, I have found from my own experience in this country that what we learn there and acquire there is of great significance in our later life. It is for this reason that we attach much importance to extra-curricular work of the students because there they get an opportunity of knowing things in life. Knowledge of books is very necessary and valuable and that we get from teachers, professors and libraries which we have in our universities. In fact, most of the time of the students is taken up in acquiring that kind of knowledge. I do not depreciate that. In fact, you are all here primarily to equip yourselves with that knowledge and that knowledge will be of the greatest help and importance in later life to you and to the country. But at the same time I wish you to gain first-hand knowledge of life as it is, of not only good things of life but also of the troubles and trials which you have to face when you become men of the world, when you cease to depend upon your parents and when you have to earn not only for yourselves but also to support others who are dependent on you. So the best thing that I can say is that you so utilise your time as to make yourselves fit for the great responsibilities, for the great burdens which await you and which you cannot avoid.

In this country, we have many burdens which a man faces in maintaining and supporting his family. We also need the services and goodwill of the people for improving the lot of the country as a whole. We are now engaged in that big undertaking of raising the living standard of the people which calls not only for devotion but also intelligence and study. While on the one hand you should utilise every moment of your time in acquiring as much knowledge as you can, you should also at the same time gain experience so that you, may not find yourselves absolutely alone in a world where you have some people who sympathise with you and also plenty of others who will deride you. You find yourselves right across all kinds of difficulties although, some of you may be fortunate enough to have a rosy future before you. That education alone will be complete which makes you fit to face these difficulties and to solve all problems of life and the problems will not concern you alone but will concern the country at large and if I can say so, ultimately the world at large. You have to make yourselves fit for that responsibility. Here, in this university, with all the advantages which you are getting, all the experience you are getting from persons like your Vice-Chancellor and other teachers and the advantages you are getting from the libraries in the colleges and other educational equipment, you can learn the art of being good debaters when you go to Parliament.

I am, therefore, happy that I have had this opportunity of coming and meeting you all. I congratulate all those who have got prizes and I wish

success to those who are aspiring for prizes next year. As I said, I am happy that you have made a rule not to have people who ought to retire, as your office-bearers. This is a good thing. I am reminded of a very interesting story of my own experience. When I was a student in a school, one teacher happened to be absent for a few days on account of illness or something and a gentleman came to act for him for two or three days. Unfortunately, he had an appearance which aroused laughter and we were not grown up boys, I think we were all 12 or 13 years of age. This gentleman, just to establish his own position, came, thumped the table, sat down and said, "I see that you are all very wicked fellows. I will set you all right". Someone in the class said, "We have done nothing of the sort but you are angry;" He replied, "I know you are all wicked and you were laughing. You do not know that I have been in this school for 18 years and I know all the tricks of the boys." One boy from a back bench got up and quietly said, "Sir, in this school you have been only for 8 years, where were you for 18 years". This question was just enough to drive him out of the class. But he was correct. He was there trying every year to pass the Matriculation Examination. I do not want anyone of you to be in a position to acquire that kind of experience and so I hope you will stick to this rule and see that fresh people come up as we need fresh people in all our public life some of us may be overstaying. Perhaps I am overstaying. But it is not because I want to overstay, it is so because you are not coming up to push us out. That has to be done. You have done well to make a rule that in this union you will have only such people as are fresh, as are quick to grasp and as are quick to retire when the time comes. I hope you will carry it on in your later life not only for yourselves but also you will see to it that other people behave like this.

The Roots of Indian Unity

IT HAS GIVEN me great pleasure to have come here in response to your kind invitation to participate in the convocation of the Karnataka University. I look upon such occasions as valuable opportunities when one can move among the learned teachers and young students dedicated to learning. There is something in the atmosphere which inspires and refreshes the soul. As seats of learning, universities have always exuded inspiration and attracted people from long distances as if they were places of pilgrimage, and from time immemorial, the seats of learning the world over have vied verily with religious shrines in popularity.

Convocation address at the Karnataka University, Dharwar, November 6, 1959.

India is a large country with a variety of languages and faiths adopted and accepted by the people. Each part has made its own contribution. No one can fail to be impressed by the great contribution made by these parts in the development of Indian culture, her literature and arts. Though, I cannot claim to be deeply read in the history of Karnataka, I know enough of its literary tradition, its galaxy of great saints and philosophers. Your literature, both secular and religious, is saturated with lofty ideals and the noblest of sentiments. It has been, through the ages, one of the forces which sustained not only the people of Karnataka but also many others living in far-flung regions. It has enriched the life of the community, ennobled our traditions and created favourable conditions for the development of fine arts. Though, all these developments took place in Karnataka, they had their impact on the whole country.

To tell you the truth, the diversity which I find in the local cultures and various traditions of India fascinates me. Perhaps it is not the diversity alone which is fascinating but the unifying thread of certain basic concepts and beliefs which binds them all together.

I venture to think that the roots of this unity are deeper than many of us may imagine and that in the ultimate analysis these roots draw sustenance from a common faith in certain ideas and ideals, a common belief in the why and whereto of human existence. In her long history, India has never known regimentation of thought so much so that at the time when her thought had touched Elysian heights and the various systems of Indian philosophy were in the making, even then the most interesting feature of Indian thought was its diverse pattern based on fullest freedom in the matter of thinking and philosophising. What greater proof can there be of this freedom than that not less than half of the six schools of Indian philosophy may be said to be atheistic in nature and out of the remaining three which believe in God, the underlying idea of the Supreme Being is not the same in any two. Nevertheless, this amazing diversity characterising the intellectual and emotional level of the people never seriously undermined their cultural unity and their beliefs in things and matters important in every-day life.

We can never, therefore, be too grateful to those who laid the foundations of our early beliefs and concepts round which the complicated pattern of our culture was woven in varying designs and different hues. The great flow of bhakti and devotional preachings, which originated from Karnataka went a long way in strengthening those trends.

On coming to this University situated in the heart of Karnataka, one feels inclined today to protect the greatness of the past of Karnataka and for that matter of the whole of India into the future, our myriad problems in

all spheres of present-day life notwithstanding. I wonder if with the touch of the long-awaited independence and with, the achievement of political and constitutional freedom, it is too much to hope that the constructive genius of the Indian people which in the past found such varied expression within the country and in many an overseas land, would not blossom forth once again for the furtherance of our age-old ideals of forbearance, love and tolerance. Never before in human history did these ideals come to near the tangible reality and practical commonsense as today. Never before in our own history have our cherished beliefs, and ideals had to face a greater challenge than the one they are facing today. Now that the whole thinking world is gradually veering round to this view, we cannot afford to turn our backs on it and discard the very faith and beliefs which have kept us alive.

There is a tendency in certain quarters to relegate culture, and matters cultural to a secondary place and to treat it casually as an idle pastime, as if it were something one might think of when there was nothing else of importance to do. And when we do think of pulling it out of the limbo of neglect, we tend to go to the other extreme and make light of culture by confusing it with brass bands and jazz, music or with any type of side show and entertainment. I do not suggest that culture is so austere that it would not go well with things that please or entertain but certainly it is wrong to equate it with all that goes for pantomime and stage shows.

Culture is essentially an expression of the inner urges and cumulative beliefs of a community or nation gathered through centuries of experience. It is an aspect of the mode of living which links the living generation with the generations gone by. The web and wood which go to make its texture are not always visible on surface, but thinking men know the fingers that move the silken chords, the fingers which transcending time, have ever been busy weaving that texture. In a limited sense it is true that things of the moment may sometimes claim precedence over cultural matters, but it is not so necessarily because the latter are of secondary consequence but because these are ingrained too deep in human nature to suffer any setback from temporary lack of attention, whereas, the former live mainly on surface and would just cease to exist if the focus of attention is turned away from them. This distinction between the two activities is to the advantage of human society because it rules out any conflict between things of the moment and those of cultural value.

With this distinction in view we can very well realise the importance of a nation's stream of cultural life. It is the perennial flow of this stream which determines a nation's strength, its character in the wider sense and its capacity to survive inclement weather. We are lucky in so far as we are

assured of this subterranean source of strength which has been responsible for keeping the nation alive and keeping the Indian society intact despite hard knocks at the hands of Time. But, who can feel happy to see a poor harvest yielded from a rich soil? Similarly, our claims of a rich culture go ill with misery and poverty on surface. If we want that the view we hold of our culture and its richness should be understood and appreciated by others, we have got to establish some kind of harmony between it and its outward expression in our actual living. A healthy cultural tradition and a maladjusted society cannot go together. It is here that the need for planned efforts sustained by a vigorous nation-wide drive to reconstruct becomes apparent.

Therefore, I have always felt that our collective efforts to reconstruct our society and bring about a new era of plenty and prosperity in India are well worthwhile. They will bear full fruit only if we draw inspiration from our cultural heritage and seek to mould our lives in keeping with its basic ideals and beliefs. Without such inspiration and without the spark which the touch of inspiration imparts, our efforts will not be imbued with that purposiveness which is a precondition of the success of a nation-wide drive.

I have spoken at some length on this question here because I consider Universities to be proper places from where these ideas should flow. It is the seats of learning which must see that the arteries of the Nation are well supplied with cultural nourishment in an assailable form. I believe even a rank materialist will not deny the force of ideas, and need I say that ideas have something of a hereditary quality, something which has its roots in the past. It is for the Universities to present these things which sound abstruse and difficult in a form understandable by the common man. If our Universities and educational centres could do that, they will have fully vindicated their existence and imparted knowledge which is both handy and practical.

I am sure your young University—I believe it is only ten years old—is destined to play an important role in the spread of knowledge and the ideals I have referred to above. You have the advantage of being literally embedded in the soil from which flashed some of the brightest rays which constitute and beautify our cultural spectrum. You are lucky in having eminent scholars and experienced educationists associated with this University. May the Karnataka University prosper and grow bigger and bigger in the service of knowledge, the Indian nation and humanity at large, is my fervent prayer.

To the young men and women who are going out of the portals of this University I say—you carry with you the learning and culture you have acquired not only for yourselves but for the society of which you are a part. You owe a duty to your *alma mater* which demands that by your life and conduct you will prove yourselves not only cultured sons and daughters

of India but also the determined defenders of her freedom and her territorial integrity, her honour and her good name.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I must thank you again for having invited me to deliver this year's Convocation Address and thus, provide me an opportunity of saying some of the things close to my heart, and, I hope not irrelevant to the occasion.

My happiness is all the greater because it has conferred on my dear and esteemed friend, Shri R. R. Diwakar, the degree of *honoris causa*. It has been my privilege to work with him for nearly 40 years and during this long period I believe we never came across anything which has divided us. The degree is well deserved and I think, has been overdue. May I just offer my congratulations to Dr. Diwakar on this happy occasion.

I wish to offer my congratulations to Dr. Modi whose services in the cause of sufferers from the eye-diseases has already been recognised by this University. I wish him further success in his life.

Education and Social Reforms

IT IS DIFFICULT for anyone who is asked to address a university convocation to find a theme which has not been covered by some one or the other or to invent a style of address which will be novel. It is still more difficult for one who has had the privilege of addressing many convocations. Any search for a new theme or a novel style is bound to prove fruitless and a repetition cannot be avoided—repetition not only of what others have said, but also of what one has said oneself. At the same time, there is available to him, as to all who happen to hear such a person from year to year, the saving grace of the proverbial short public memory. To the students who receive their degrees, what appears to others to be a mere repetition or rehash of what others have said may still be all fresh and novel as they may not have had an opportunity to attend a previous Convocation. I will not, therefore, waste any time in apologising for what I am going to say turning out to be a repetition, perhaps in a worse style of what others may have said more eloquently and in an inspiring way.

As I look upon it, a university is or should be an artist's studio where not clay or stone or wood has to be moulded or cut or chiselled into shape, but where human beings with different temperaments, varying capacities, changing moods, and limitless variety of what may be called hereditary tendencies or *sanskaras* have to be put not only into beautiful shape, but

also rendered into useful instruments that can serve others, and what is more, serve themselves well. The product has to be not only accomplished gentlemen, but also truly useful and serviceable members of society, and loyal, helpful and sacrificing citizens of a country. The work of the university teacher is any way harder and more difficult than that of the artist who works with clay or stone or wood. It is also more inspiring and life-giving. He has to deal with hard and refractory material—harder and more refractory than any artist has to deal with. He has also to deal with softer and more easily yielding and mouldable material. He has to create not only beautiful figures that are good to look at but hard and intractable at the core, but also to infuse into and fill them with noble and life-giving quality that can inspire others and may in due time be able to create new figures and fulfil varied expectations and discharge difficult duties that they may have to face in life. I, therefore, look upon a teacher's work as not only hard and difficult but also awe-inspiring and capable of bringing forth the best in others.

Man has since the very dawn of his consciousness, been in search of happiness. In this process, he has passed through many stages and undergone many transformations. Whether there is rebirth or not for an individual after what is called death, there is no doubt that mankind as such has passed through many rebirths. Whether there are many *yonis* or not, each with its own occasions and opportunities for growth in its own way, human society or rather society of men has existed and exists even today at different levels and stages. But the search for happiness, consciously or unconsciously, intelligently or otherwise, continues. In this long and unending process in the midst of its bewildering mazes, is it possible to discover any clear straightforward line of advance? Is it likely to lead us to the desired goal? I do not know. All that I can assert or state about it is what appears to me or what I feel to be correct or true. So also is it for others to state and bear witness to what they see and feel to be true and correct.

The perennial question has always arisen—does this happiness arise within or does it come from without? Have we to look for it within ourselves or have we to be helplessly waiting for something that is beyond and apart from us? Have we to so mould and train ourselves as to find it in whatever circumstances we may be placed or to be always looking for the most favourable circumstances which always look to be within easy reach, but go on receding as we pass from stage to stage? Has it to be created and evolved out of something that is within us or to be made of something which is not always within our reach or at our command? The question may be answered in one way or the other according to the temperament and training of the person who has to answer it. There may also be certain irrefutable premises which can lead but to one conclusion. All this is for the

philosopher to answer and account for in a satisfactory way. But a man of the world or a common man of the street as we call him, also comes up against the realities of life from day to day and has to answer the question in his own way at least for his own satisfaction for the time being. He has his physical essential needs of food, shelter and clothing not only to keep him alive but also to keep him healthy. He has other kinds of needs also which are no less essential, as for example, the need of education. Education does not mean only inculcating knowledge of letters and of all the others have thought, said or written, but also the drawing out of all that is within him, particularly the drawing out of the nobler elements in his mental and moral makeup. In fact, true education includes the inculcation of a true and correct concept of this happiness as also the training of his body and mind, evolving and achieving this happiness by his own effort.

Man has been trying to fulfil both these essential requirements of life. In pursuit of this happiness, he has been busy for centuries trying to pry into the secrets of Nature to unravel its mysteries, to discover its rules of conduct and behaviour and to utilise all this knowledge in his own way and for his own benefit as he conceives it. The wonderful progress which modern science has achieved is the result of this search. Man has succeeded in unravelling these mysteries to an extent unimagined and unconceived of only a few centuries ago. He has succeeded practically in devising means and methods to overcome distance and thus, to multiply time. His needs, or what he conceives to be his needs, have grown with this marvellous growth and perhaps are incapable of being ever fulfilled to his satisfaction. In fact, with every fulfilment, the need for more of it grows. As Tulsidas has said: *jas prati labh lobh adhikai*.

All teachers have always insisted that desire is at the root of all unhappiness and yet man has never been able to reconcile himself to the doctrine of renunciation. In fact, attempt has always been made to reconcile what appears on the surface to be irreconcilable, that is to say, to be self-contented on the one hand, and on the other, to be dependent for achieving this happiness. The middle course of reconciling the two is the best, specially in a country and in a society and in times like ours.

We are, therefore, engaged in developing our resources so as to provide all those physical amenities which are considered necessary in this age. We must produce what we require to meet our physical needs. We are proceeding on that line and are progressing at a moderately rapid pace I think it is equally necessary to shape and mould the mind and thought of our people so that they may know how best to utilise these facilities and amenities, for attaining the contentment which is the objective to be reached

without getting lost into them. For that purpose, not only has the individual to be trained, but also the social conditions and environments have to be created, which will enable the individual to discriminate between what is truly good and what is apparently beneficial but really corroding to his personality. In other words, each one has to be taught to grow out of slavery of circumstances and to attain mastery over them.

Our social system, our laws and our Constitution should help the growth of the individual, not as a force for suppressing others, but as an instrument of service to all. This can, to a certain extent, be helped and encouraged by institutions, but let us not forget that it can also be more easily and more effectively suppressed by mere institutions. Institutions, therefore, have to keep always in view the growth of the individual. This individual has to develop not into a self-assertive unit or a selfless automation, but into a self-conscious and dedicated servant of the society. It is really, in other words, the problem of imposed compliance versus self-evolved dedication to certain rules of conduct. The latter ought to be more acceptable than the former, especially when the quality of the agency or the power that imposes it is not always predictable or dependable. The standard of a society, moral or other, cannot in the very nature of things be very different from, or higher than those of the individuals who comprise it. It is also only too true that environments do have considerable influence, and, therefore, they have to be made as good and desirable as possible.

In the present circumstances in our country, we see the same kind of parallelogram of forces working, which have worked in all societies in critical times. Let us hope that the diagonal line which these forces will ultimately take will be the right and the correct line. While on the one hand we require most urgently the development of our material resources, we need no less the growth of moral and spiritual forces which ought to shape and mould our lives. We have to get rid of many customs and prejudices which are not only outmoded but also harmful. We have to help cultivation of those qualities which are essential for growth. We need the cultivation of a correct and fruitful sense of freedom which is to be available to every man and woman. Our Constitution provides for it. We have to make it available in fact to all, which can be done only by creating equal opportunities and conditions for men and women in every walk and station of life. It has to be accompanied by its counterpart—the sense of responsibility—which is its foundation.

At a time when efficiency and achievement in reaching targets are considered essential and desirable, let us not forget that all achievements may be frittered away if we do not possess the skill and the character to utilise them for the good of all. And, therefore, it is that mere efficiency of

the machine or of the man at the wheel who himself becomes a part of it, accurate but lifeless, is not enough to produce genuine happiness and contentment. The man at the machine as also the man in the field have to acquire standards of life and conduct which enable them to become contented and what is more, to make others contented. It is necessary to remind ourselves of this, the other side of our efforts to improve our conditions. It is the function of our universities to create the conditions in which all this can flourish. While in their scientific and technological laboratories, they have not only to enable our students to imbibe and assimilate as also to add to the latest and the best that has been evolved in the world, they have also to inculcate in them those values and principles which alone can make them good and successful citizens of the country and of the world. I want them to be centres, not of flashlight which dazzles and also blinds people, but to become constant sources of life giving rays of the sun. This work is of great value at a time of great change and ferment in our country.

Having satisfied ourselves, that the wheel of change has started moving and that it is in one's power to organise its revolution, will it not be wise to forestall these changes and to grease the wheel by preparing ourselves for them? I have often looked round and wondered if we had in our country a big enough organisation whose objective may be to prepare the people for these changes.

The task which we in our country face today in the sphere of social reform is twofold. Firstly, we have to eradicate social evils wherever they may exist, like untouchability, casteism, wasting customs like dowry system etc. Though, under the stress of modern conditions and on account of the impact of the struggle for freedom and specially because of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, most of these evils have shed their rigour, still they are widely prevalent and obstructing the process of smooth adjustment of the people to their economic conditions and the current political and social needs. Secondly, we must direct the forces of change operating in this country in such a manner as to strengthen the feeling of oneness and to buttress the sense of national unity. Social customs and practices play no mean part in underlining the feeling of unity in a nation. In actual fact, social factors are as important as their economic or political counterparts in the building up of a nation.

No doubt, we have several big and small organisations, part religious, part social, for fighting such social evils; but I am afraid no all India organisation pledged to the eradication of such unwanted and out-of-date practices exists in our country. We have to create a climate in which social

work is considered as important and commands the same recognition as public work of other kinds. I am not saying it by way of criticism of our present-day affairs. I am merely stating a fact in the light of our pressing requirements. To me, it seems that the emphasis on politics has been excessive for an unconscionably long time in this country.

I know it was unavoidable, perhaps also necessary during the period when the struggle for freedom was our main occupation. With the attainment of freedom, however, the perspective must change. While administration still remains a responsibility of the first order, social reform as one aspect of social welfare work, has to assume its due importance. We have given due recognition to this fact in our Constitution, in our Directive Principles and in our developmental plans. I know that much useful work is being done by organisations and departments run or sponsored by Government. But I am afraid all such governmental activity suffers from a serious disadvantage. How much I wish, non-official organisations could take up at least a part of this work. Non-official undertakings based on people's will and voluntary effort are expected to fare better in a sphere like social reorientation of a nation. Let me hope, we shall have a congenial climate and favourable conditions for the growth of such voluntary organisations whose work will go a long way in supplementing the work of the governmental agencies. Let us not forget that economic improvement without social stability would be a superficial gain. The process of assimilating something in a system is just as important as the process of obtaining something, and this assimilation of economic gains by the society is possible only through proper social adjustment.

Some of my young hearers might be wondering why I have said, all this about a matter to which not many of them could have given thought. On my part, I have good reason to have mentioned it here. Social adjustment or reform should be a matter of special interest for the younger generation. It is also their special responsibility. While the grown-ups and older people like me can only express their views and lend their moral support to a social drive, it is the youth which must bear the brunt of bringing about a change in society. It is they who must set their heart against social evils and make room for reform in keeping with current needs and ideals. I hope and trust that all those who go out of the portals of this University will go fully imbued with that spirit of service and sacrifice which is necessary.

I wish all success to the outgoing graduates in their noble enterprise and offer them my congratulations for what they have gained and my good wishes for what is expected of them.

Technical Education in India

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to have come here in response to your kind invitation to deliver the Convocation address to this young University. It is young only in the sense that it was formally chartered only a few years ago, though actually as an educational and technological institution it has been in existence for over half a century and has been serving the community all these years. The National Council of Education, the parent body from which this University has sprung, was founded as long back as 1906. As one who had the privilege and good fortune of being a student in Calcutta in those days, I was not only a witness to that great national awakening which roused Bengal and many other and distant parts of the country, but could not fail to be affected by its idealism and inspired by its great leaders.

A mere thought of the names of the founders, to mention a few—Rash Bihari Ghosh, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Aurobindo Ghosh, Chittaranjan Das, Bipin Chandra Pal, and last though not the least, Rabindranath Tagore—is enough to conjure up a picture of the Bengal that is, of the India of those days. If those great names laid the foundation, among the bricks without which no foundation can be laid I may mention a few who have already joined the majority—Satish Chandra Mukherjee whose saintly life and dedicated but silent service inspired many among the rising generation, Rabindra Narayan Ghosh, a distinguished scholar with a much coveted first class, who later became the Principal of the Rippon College and Vinaya Kumar Sarkar who attained international reputation as a scholar and writer; and among the living Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, a well-known historian—all of whom I have known rather intimately.

I can, therefore, recall from personal experience the great enthusiasm which the Swadeshi movement created for education on national lines, uncontrolled by Government in any way, and for development of industries to supply our daily requirements. The foundation of the National Council of Education was a product, natural and lasting. The ideal of national education and the dream to impart integrated instruction on national lines to Indian youth prompted the public leaders of Bengal to launch this educational venture. In spite of innumerable difficulties and handicaps, the National Council of Education continued to carry on its functions with determination and provides an outstanding example of creative achievements of the Swadeshi Movement. Though national educational institutions were set up in several other parts of the country in the early twenties, I do not think public efforts

anywhere else could bear the fruit which the National Educational Council of Bengal was destined to. From the very beginning, the Council, blessed by public opinion and embodying the national and idealistic urge of Bengal's leadership, forged ahead with the task of imparting not only literary and general education but also scientific and technical knowledge. The Jadavpur University represents the consummation of those efforts. May I, on this occasion congratulate you all and offer my humble tribute to the memory of those great sops of Bengal whose unflinching efforts and patriotic fervour have gone into the making of this great institution.

When I think of the great hopes and the lofty ideals which prompted public-spirited men more than 50 years ago to start the first institution which became the nucleus of the present-day Jadavpur University, I cannot help asking myself and others how far our hopes have been fulfilled. So far as this institution goes, there is no doubt that its history and progress have filled us with satisfaction. It has turned out a large number of alumni some of whom have made a mark in the various spheres of public service and activity. Again, it has to be admitted that the courses of study, particularly scientific and technical studies, offered by this institution have been attracting a large number of boys and girls and equipping them with qualifications for various professions and useful trades.

Some disturbing trends in education in India today almost compel attention. I think it will be wise to probe into them and try to see what is wrong and where. Now and then, we come across some criticism of the progress in the field of education, particularly at the lower levels, since Independence. It is said that in smaller countries the percentage of literacy has shown much greater improvement in the last ten or twelve years than in our country. I know this fact and have in fact seen a few of these countries in the South-East Asian region myself. Nearly all of these are too small to be compared with a vast country like India. Our large numbers and the multiplicity of languages and scripts pose problems with which these smaller countries never had to reckon.

Be that as it may, the progress that we have made in the spread of literacy and in the provision of higher education, particularly technical education, can be described only as stupendous, though seeing the great leeway we have yet to make, we modestly chose to put it as inadequate. For example, we have today more universities than the total number of engineering colleges before the partition. Such colleges and technical institutes have been provided and are being provided in all the States in order to meet the requirement of trained engineers and technicians for implementing our big and small projects. As for primary and secondary

education, the progress has been equally encouraging, though I know our resources have not yet permitted us to introduce free and compulsory education up to the primary stage as we intended to do and which we still hope to accomplish.

Let it not be forgotten, that in the spread of education it is not material resources alone which count. There are other factors involved, for example, need for re-orientation of the present system of education, the language question, past traditions, immediate requirements, the problem of employment, etc. No advance in education which does not keep in view all these questions is worth having or planning for. We have, therefore, necessarily to go slow. I do not, therefore, think that the critics have a good case if general advance in education is their target.

There are, however, other matters which cause some concern and where it is not possible to join issue with the critics. So far as higher education in arts and humanities is concerned, the problem of unemployment stares us in the face. It has been suggested that only a limited number of boys and girls should be sent up for higher education. The suggestion is good so far as it goes, but who can guarantee profitable employment even for these limited numbers? As for technical education, the scope for employment is much wider. Whether this wide scope is a temporary phase of the period of reconstruction or represents normal opportunities, remains to be seen. Often one gets disturbed to hear of unemployment even among technically trained personnel. I read in papers a few days ago that about 40 per cent of the Indian young men who have returned during the last twelve months after obtaining technological training abroad are still awaiting their turn to get suitable employment. If that is the state of affairs at this time when all the technical institutions which we intend to set up have not been opened and when the tempo of reconstruction work in the country is so high, one wonders how we shall be able to cope with the question of profitable employment of all of our technically trained personnel when all the institutions have come into existence and when all the major projects now in hand have been implemented. Let me confess, I am speaking as a layman with limited knowledge of facts. I can only hope that there are gaps in my information. However, what I mean to say is that there is need to be careful and vigilant about this aspect of the question when we think of extending facilities for technical education. I cannot imagine that with the rising tempo of advance in agriculture and industrialisation in all aspects, there need necessary be lack of opportunities for employment and indeed, I believe there are places which are not filled up as quickly as they should be. It seems to me that there is lack of coordination which causes the co-existence of employment and the unemployed. The problem is undoubtedly receiving attention and I

need only emphasise its present existence and growing complexities to rivet attention on its urgency.

A most disconcerting feature, however, of the present day education is the wave of discontent among the students. Of late, it has been manifesting itself in the form of strikes, agitations and demonstrations. There may be some willing to ascribe it to the feeling of general consciousness in the country and the awakening particularly in the student community. There are others who seek to condone it as a sign of the times or as an inalienable feature of the period of transition through which our country is passing. They hold that with the passage of time, as conditions get settled, things will automatically improve and meanwhile we must suffer a strike here and a demonstration there as mere signs of the time.

I wish it were possible for me to agree with these views. I am afraid the student malaise calls for a deeper probe. The Indian youth is conscious of the changes that have taken place around him. He is mentally alert and has a sense of self-esteem and patriotism. But for some reason he seems to be suffering from a sense of insecurity leading up social maladjustment. Unless we do something to remove this sense of insecurity so as to bring about proper adjustment between the youth and their environments, it would be idle to expect improvement in the present situation. In the context of the great changes that are taking place in the country and the world at large, the student community deserves to be helped in its search for harmony between their aims and ideals on the one hand and their capacities and attainments on the other.

Youth is proverbially sensitive. If little things upset him, he is also easily amenable to straight sympathetic talk. I would, therefore, urge that greater attention is paid by educational institutions, particularly the teaching profession, to the susceptibilities and the present-day problems of the youth. Sympathy and a little patience, I am sure, will not fail to bring about the desired result.

A word to the student community also. Let them realise that India is on the threshold of new opportunities, new openings of development and achievements. They are a very important element in the country's population. Unless, therefore, they do their duty well and instead of putting spokes in the wheel, push the cart in a spirit of service and helpful co-operation, the great work of nation-building is bound to suffer a setback. Surely that is not what they could be aiming at in the country's and in their own interest. It is, therefore, their bounden duty to listen to the advice of their elders and try to make the best of this opportunity by devoting themselves to the pursuit of knowledge and cultivating the sense of responsibility and discipline.

I need hardly say to the students of this University and the graduates who have just obtained the degrees and diplomas that they should not in their life forget that they are the students of a University which had its birth in a period of exceptional awakening in the country. They can hardly forget and could hardly escape the influences and inspirations of a great era of reconstruction and rebuilding of the nation which dawned with the birth of freedom. They are the inheritors of a great tradition and the progeny of a greater present and they should prove themselves worthy of both their past and the present, and be fully equipped to face the bright but arduous future.

Rights and Obligations in a Democracy

I AM THANKFUL to Dr. B. C. Roy and other members of the Board of Governors of the Indian Institute of Technology, for their invitation to me, to visit this institute and deliver the convocation address this year. Though I have been visiting West Bengal pretty frequently and can claim to be generally familiar with many of the educational and public institutions in this State, it is for the first time that I am visiting the Indian Institute of Technology. This is the first institute to be opened by the Central Ministry of Education in pursuance of their decision to set up four institutions for higher technological study, one each in East, West, North and South zones with a view to meeting national requirements of technical personnel in resurgent and fast developing India. Yours is the first of those four institutions to come into being and I take it that the remaining three, which will also be coming up in due course, will benefit from the experience gained at Kharagpur. Therefore, your institute is going to serve as something like a model for the remaining institutes.

In many respects this has been an excellent beginning. Firstly, this institute is the outcome of collaboration and willing co-operation on the part of several friendly nations. This by itself is auspicious and ensures contact of the teachers and students here with technical developments in all the collaborating countries and their skill and experience. Secondly, the location of the institution is particularly suitable as Kharagpur is situated in India's biggest industrial belt and is not far from Calcutta, itself one of the biggest industrial and commercial centres in the country. In fact, there are hardly

any facilities or resources considered necessary for an ideal technical institution which may be lacking here. There is no wonder, therefore, that this institute has been making steady progress since 1951 when it was first opened.

I am very glad to know that all the fifteen Departments covering a wide range of scientific and technical studies have by now got going satisfactorily. Having decided on the development of the country's material resources and its industrial expansion as rapidly as our resources would permit, it was foreseen that our foremost requirements would be highly qualified engineers and technologists in large numbers to implement the various programmes and projects, both in the public and private sectors. Along with other leading institutions like the Roorkee University and the Bangalore Institute of Science, the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, promises to go a longway in meeting that demand.

When a country is dead set on eradicating poverty and raising the per capita income of its citizens, there is no alternative for it and it has to develop all its natural resources and thus increase the wealth of the country as a whole. We have to do this in the light of the experience of other advanced countries of the West and the East, many of which, I am glad to say, have come out with friendly offers to help us in this huge undertaking. I take this opportunity to thank these countries on behalf of the people of India.

We have no reason to be disappointed with the progress made and success achieved already. It is only the beginning and better results are expected in future. I make bold to say that the fact that during the short time at our disposal we have already made significant advances in the field of reconstruction, specially industrial expansion is no longer in dispute. Given unity of purpose and public co-operation. I have no doubt that we are bound to make the best of this good start and succeed ultimately in turning India into a modern State and, what is more, into the real welfare state of our dreams. This is our ideal. I know, however, that it is easier stated than achieved. The road to prosperity may be attractive and inspiring but it is beset with untold difficulties and sufferings. It calls for constant effort, unflinching hard work and more than anything else the capacity to learn from experience, particularly from others' and one's own mistakes. A nation which is not possessed of this capacity cannot hope to accomplish great things. It is on the conviction that our nation is inspired by a unity of purpose and is capable of applying itself to the great task of development, that the chosen representatives of the people have chalked out a programme of development which some might call ambitious but which is nevertheless necessary and feasible.

I feel inclined today to dwell at some length on this conviction and examine how far it is correct and to what extent we must strain ourselves to keep on the right path.

Right from the day we launched our struggle for freedom under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, we had resolved in our minds to follow the democratic way of living. This resolve was reinforced on the day power was transferred into our hands twelve years ago. Since then we have missed no opportunity of demonstrating our faith in the ideals of democracy and acting up to them to the best of our lights. What greater proof of it can one ask for than the clear and unequivocal provisions embodied in our Constitution. Democracy is a tender plant in our time. While we have had the institution of village panchayats from time immemorial and may also claim to have had a number of republics in our chequered history, I must confess, as far as I know never before was the principle of popular representation through election recognised or applied in that sense or on such a large scale as we have done today. This did not prevent us from opting for full-fledged democracy with adult franchise, fundamental rights, distinct organs of state administration and all these in a jump almost without any apparent preparation. Faith in those principles and the deep conviction of our leaders were our only strength.

May be, it was a legacy of the British connection, a legacy for which we feel happy and let me hope our former rulers share this happiness. With our faith and the little training which the Britishers had given us in running the representative and democratic institutions when they held sway here, India's ship of State was launched on the high seas with full faith in our people and the destiny of our nation. We have since been able to hold two general elections, sending the world's largest electorate to the polls.

In all the States comprising the Union of India, we have reorganised the village system, putting panchayats on a better footing and introducing therein the elective principle. On the whole, matters have gone on well and there is the testimony of many a foreign visitor lauding our effort in no uncertain terms. But it has not prevented, some of us at any rate, from occasional heart-searching necessitated by casual administrative crisis or some peculiar difficulties inherent in the situation here. Howsoever, healthy we may consider this tendency to do heart-searching or indulge in self-criticism, as the twin wheels of the cart of democracy, our difficulties have sometimes shaken some of us and now and then pessimistically inclined critics have thrown their hands in despair, stigmatising the democratic system as ill-suited to Indian conditions. Sometimes the blame is thrown on what are supposed to be our historical traditions and sometimes on the general

world trends of the day. I will not be wrong in saying that while on the whole things may be said to be going more or less smoothly, doubts and misgivings continue to lurk and often threaten to multiply.

I am desirous of taking you in confidence this evening by sharing with you some of my thoughts. The plant of democracy, whether one looks upon it as indigenous or exotic, has nowhere grown without careful nursing. The system which democracy has come to represent is the most complicated political fabric that one can think of, yet it is a fabric which in respect of utility and durability is unrivalled in many ways. There is no nation which tried it and which did not have to grapple with conflicting claims, leading to persistent difficulties. Such of them as could muster sufficient patience and perseverance to face those difficulties and get over them, are still flourishing as democratic states. Others, which would not do so, had for one reason or the other to give way to other forces.

In the history of these groups of nations, there is nothing which might dishearten us. Far from that, we feel doubly convinced that for a country like India, which is pledged to freedom and equality of treatment of all its citizens, there is no other course but to follow the democratic way of living. The democratic pattern promises justice to all and healthy growth of all the various elements comprising the Indian population. We believe in the dignity of the individual as much as in upholding the rights of the society in which he lives. Every Indian citizen is a unit unto himself and yet inalienable part of the national life. We believe in collective effort and a reasonably fair distribution of wealth and the means of production. We are against discrimination of any kind against any section of our people on social, economic or religious grounds. For the furtherance of our objectives we do not desire to use force or aggression of any type. We want every individual to contribute to the building up of the state according to his or her ability, and at the same time we are anxious that the state is able to underwrite a suitable standard of living and a medium of comfort and amenities to every individual. For the achievement of these aims the democratic way is best suited. We are, therefore, determined to follow it, happen what may.

However, to be sure, mere mental resolve is not enough to follow the democratic way of living or to make a success of it. There is something else which is needed and it may be taken as an essential condition of success. That something, in my opinion, is that in practice everyone does his duty. Freedom brings new opportunities in its trial for the people and it is not altogether unnatural for them to lay stress on the rights accruing from freedom. It is after all, the consciousness of those rights which provided incentive for the people to do their duty and, thus, safeguard democratic

traditions. It must, however, never be forgotten or minimised that rights can after all flow from duty well performed.

So, there are two aspects of freedom in the democratic way of living, namely, certain inalienable rights of citizens, and secondly, the duties equally unavoidable, which devolve upon the citizens. How far a democracy succeeds would depend ultimately on the citizens of that nation to strike a proper balance between rights and duties. Too much of emphasis on rights will disrupt the democratic machinery, just as too much stress on duty, to the exclusion of rights, will turn a country into a nation of automatons. In the former case, chaos will threaten democracy and in the latter, regimentation will be the outcome. Therefore, wisdom lies in avoiding both of these courses and resorting to the golden middle path in which right gets converted into duty, and duty itself becomes right.

If I am not misconstrued, I would like to say that of late there has been too much stress on rights in our country. Every section of the population is worried about not only claiming, but if possible, enforcing its rights. In the midst of the resultant noise, the call of duty is either forgotten or relegated to a place of unimportance. No one, therefore, need be surprised if we find symptoms of imbalance in the Indian society. In fairness to you and to myself, let me tell you that the student community in general is also guilty of this faulty emphasis on rights and neglecting the stress on duty. The same may probably be said of some other sections in our society. The only way to get over this trouble is to recognise duties as well as rights to which every citizen in a democratic state is entitled. Recognition of duty will provide a healthy corrective and also clear up the perspective which has been blurred by over-emphasis on rights.

If democracy guarantees certain fundamental rights for the individual, it also insists on his having certain basic qualities or virtues. The individual must place the country before self and cultivate in him the quality to sacrifice, where necessary, personal interest to the interest of the society. In short, the individual must develop a social sense which in turn is the guarantee of his own well-being.

I offer my congratulations and good wishes to the graduates and students of this university. They must realise that they are being trained essentially for constructive work of various types and no work can be well done if it is not done with a will and a sense of pride in it. That is especially so, in the kind of work which they will have to do. We expect them not only to do their work creditably, ably and intelligently but also to prove themselves worthy of the institution and capable, by their example and life, of inspiring others who may have to work with or under them.

Education and Human Happiness

IT IS A pleasure and indeed a great honour to have met so many experienced educationists from various countries who have come here to discuss problems connected with education and to pool their knowledge and experience. I have not had the opportunity to attend the discussions which you have been having here for the last eight or ten days and what I may say may well be irrelevant or mere repetition and I, therefore, ask for your indulgence and forgiveness in advance. Basically, the problem of educating the people is the same the world over. There may be variations in local conditions, regional peculiarities and special requirements of countries and different strata of society, but the ideal of education, namely, drawing the best out of youth so that they are able to develop their innate faculties and turn them to good account and further acquire the capacity to grow in future on their own, is verily the same all over the world. Human personality and the immutability of the laws governing the development of human mind provide the common ground enabling educationists to make a comparative study of educational problems and to try to evolve the ideal theory or system which would meet the changing requirements of the human society.

As is the case with every branch of human knowledge, education too is a matter for whose study and systematic growth we depend on cumulative experience. The theory of education, its system and methodology have grown with human experience. It is essentially man's requirements and the resources at his command which have conditioned the system of education from time to time. There was possibly a time when material resources had not so much to do with the imparting of instruction or at any rate the spread of education. But, those were also times when education was not looked upon as a universal need. Its scope was limited just as its application to the various spheres of human activity. The times have since changed and with them the whole pattern of human society. The advances made in our knowledge, specially in the field of science and technology, have all but changed the scope, the utility and also, to a large extent, the immediate purpose of education. If in the past, education was mainly a matter of personal attainments, it has now become one of our foremost social needs, in which, of course, the individual's needs are included. All round development in printing, communications and other visual and auditory aids has vested education with unforeseen potential for human good or ill. Education is now believed to be capable of not only moulding human

understanding and character but also of predisposing, to a large extent, all social or national behaviour. There is no wonder if education has come to occupy a foremost place in the nation-building programmes of all modern countries.

From this progress in education and the general advance made in the science of pedagogy, has sprung a new problem. Having recognised the potentialities of education, the question arises, how best can they be evolved and regulated so as to ensure the maximum benefit for all members of the human society. This question is necessarily forced upon us in the context of tensions and proneness to aggression displayed now and then by some of the members of the human family.

In this context, it may be well worth remembering that the social system as it obtains in the advanced countries, and even in the backward communities, is based on a system of competition rather than of co-operation. It has naturally laid emphasis on acquiring material objects which give comfort, rather than on cultivating those virtues which give contentment and happiness. Naturally, the acquisitive tendency in man has acquired a predominant position in his life and thought. If really, a society in which all will be happy and contented has to be created, the emphasis has to be shifted from competition to co-operation, from acquisition of material prosperity to acquisition of a sense of contentment and happiness. It may well be that it will require a revolutionary change in human thought. Not that it is altogether new, because all philosophers, teachers and specially religious re-formers have laid emphasis on this and pronounced it to be a higher and nobler virtue of man than his power and strength to acquire material prosperity. But now that time and distance have practically ceased to play an important role in the life of men and especially of nations on account of the tremendous changes and advances in science and technology, we cannot help reverting again and again to the desirability of re-catching old values and re-enthroning them in the hearts of men even in an age when the conquest of other planets is within the reach of man's intellect.

This big change in human outlook can be brought about by education, education not only of the young but also of the grown-ups and even of the intellectuals, so that the younger ones may grow up in a new atmosphere of friendship and co-operation and older ones may realise the ultimate futility for human happiness of all material gains. After all, no one can claim that mere physical possessions have given contentment and true happiness to any single individual, whereas there have been men and women in all ages and all countries who have risen above mere physical wants and found supreme happiness growing out of their inner contentment. It will not be true to say that all such men and women were happy because they were

ignorant or that contentment and peace was the peace of the grave. They were truly illumined men and women and they were happy because they understood the genuine value of all things. In every country there are people with different grades of education and culture. Education in the modern sense has not reached all, and in some countries, for want of material resources, it is difficult to make it reach all. But the concept of contentment which is not dependent upon material resources is capable of being carried to all, and education, if it has to take in its sweep the rich and the poor, the progressive and the backward, the highly intellectual and the mentally undeveloped, must make the propagation of this as one of its fundamental points, so that even where it cannot carry the benefits of modern education to all, it can at any rate make them all contented where they are. It will not mean suffocating their desire for improvement. It will only teach them to work but work without being disturbed by the fear of failure or non-attainment of results.

So the task of the educationist has expanded not only horizontally but also vertically and all his mental, moral and spiritual resources have to be so utilised as to make them effective as much with the highly intellectual as with the man with little intellectual attainment. Competition in its ultimate analysis is based on violence and co-operation on love; and if a fundamental change has to be brought about in the outlook of individuals and nations, this fundamental difference has to be kept in view and the principle of love appreciated and applied in all the spheres of human activity. The educator has to do it.

If education is such a vital factor in the conduct of affairs of man and nations, is there any reason why no effort should be made on an international plane to healthy conditioning of education as a means to planting the right kind of ideas and ideals in the minds of young learners?

This was obviously the question, which led to the founding of the New Education Fellowship after the First World War. In the very nature of things this Organisation could not be expected to show spectacular results. But it has brought together a number of countries and provided for them a forum for the discussion of the various problems connected with education in the context of changing conditions in the world at large through discussions conducted by its various sections and through international conferences. The New Education Fellowship has applied itself to the task of improving the quality of education and of so transforming it that it can fit present and future generations for living in rapidly changing world conditions. The Fellowship's belief, that one key to this is in helping the individual to realise his own potentialities for social and creative living, and its conviction that by striving to eliminate the basis of prejudices and promote awareness and

understanding it can make a contribution to the creation of a more harmonious world, would be widely welcome. If I may say so, this belief and the actual working of the New Education Fellowship can be looked upon as a forerunner of other international efforts, notably the UNESCO programmes, in the sphere of education, art, culture, etc.

Education, specially universal literacy, is looked upon as the first requisite of the present-day society. While as a result of research and experiments, there are good many theories and systems to select from, the main crux of the problem of modern education is the material sources of a State to implement its educational plan. We in this country, who have been behind none in our anxiety and enthusiasm to bring the fruit of education within the reach of each one of our citizens, have often had to give second thoughts to our plans on account of our limited resources. More than 20 years ago our great national leader, Mahatma Gandhi foresaw this difficulty. The necessity of getting over the hurdle of inadequate resources and his own faith, that education in order to be true must be both intellectual and manual, were responsible for the birth of the idea of Basic Education.

We have since Independence been encouraging this system by giving it a trial in all parts of our country. It may be too much for me to say that this system has been an unqualified success, but as far as I know it has started striking roots and may sooner or later come to be recognised as the only answer to our problem of education and literacy. I must confess that we have not yet emerged from the trial and error stage. We firmly believe that the inclusion of handicrafts or a little manual work in the school curricula provides a fair chance to our students to meet a part of the cost of their education and at the same time creates in them a healthy outlook on life. We also believe that it will result in the many-sided development of a student's personality. But, as I have said, this is a belief which, howsoever, in keeping it may be with the theory of education, is yet to be tested on the touchstone of actual practice.

I am sure many of you have had occasion during your sojourn in India to know of the principles of Basic Education and its actual working in this country. Your views on the subject will be welcome and should be of help to us in improving the theory and practice of this system. I need hardly say that our plans are elastic and we are ever open to conviction. Who can afford to be rigid in matters educational?

May I close with a word of appeal to you, distinguished educationists, to keep in view not only the limited purpose of educating the individual but also to prepare the ground for the new world in which competition and acquisitiveness will have given place to co-operation, contentment and dedication to the service of all?

Women and the Present Day Education

IT IS A matter of great pleasure for me to be associated with this function this afternoon. When we are trying to improve the condition of the country in every respect possible, we are naturally putting great emphasis on our economic improvement and side by side, we are not neglecting health or the education of the people also. So an attempt is being made in our plans to give an all-round improvement to our people at large. The object of all this is to make the life of the common man and woman more pleasant and, if possible, more profitable in more senses than one.

No attempt at improving material conditions or moral uplift can be wholly successful unless what is done is utilised in the best possible way and to the best advantage. For that purpose, good home is essential. Whatever a family may earn, can be wasted or at any rate not utilised to the best advantage if the home is not well managed. Whatever attainments men and ladies may have in matters educational and others, the children cannot avoid themselves of them unless the home is well managed. Whatever attainment the villager may hope to achieve either by way of material prosperity or by improving the living in other ways, it will all remain a dream unless every home in the village is so educated and got up as to make the best use of the opportunities which are offered. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that home science should at last get recognition in our curricula of university and adult education.

Today, not only we, but other countries also are passing through various kinds of pulls in different directions in matters educational as well as political. And while on the one side there is emphasis that there should be no difference between man and woman in any matter, on the other side, it is also recognised that man has his own sphere of work and he cannot by any means leave it completely to the woman, at any rate in some respects, and similarly woman requires man to fulfil herself. Therefore, while recognising the distinct specialities and the particular functions of both, we have to see where the difference lies between them and how the differences can be so fused as to make them helpful instead of being a hindrance.

Now, there is this conflict of ideas going on in the world. I have just returned from a tour of Russia and I may tell you that I have heard there that women were doing many kinds of work which so far only men had been doing. For example, I heard that they are driving railway engines and

Speech made at the Avinashilingam Home Science College, Coimbatore, August 10, 1960.

locomotives and that they are doing the work of drivers of buses and motor cars. Even in this country, we see ladies driving motor cars; but they are taking those professions in Russia more or less as regular professions and they are going in for them in large numbers. In this country also, I find that there is a regular competition going on between men and women for all jobs but mostly for clerical jobs and jobs of stenographers and perhaps also of telephone operators. There are other fields in which it is not unlikely that competition may grow, and there is a demand from ladies who have had the advantage of modern education that no distinction should be made so far as educational facilities are concerned between men and women.

It is, therefore, a very bold experiment which you are engaged in, in setting apart an institution for the education of women,' and not only setting apart an institution for women, but also setting a particular curriculum which is suited largely for women only. India is a large country and we have got vast fields for experiment. An experiment in this direction is certainly very valuable and we look forward with great expectancy to its result. I am, therefore, happy that you have undertaken this experiment because in the first place India is a country which is very largely in the homes, a country where those who do not understand our social life might say really the woman rules and not man. It is for man to go and work and bring the earnings to the home and it has been like that since ages long gone by. It is the function and duty of woman to so husband the resources which are acquired by man as to make him happy and more than that, to so bring up the children that they may fulfil the expectations of their parents and prove themselves to be good and worthy citizens of the country.

Here, in this country, the woman has always occupied a high place and that is not easily seen from outside because her work is confined within the narrow limits of the home. I am happy that in this country our women will continue to rule the home. Our culture has been so far preserved intact by our women. Men have come under all kinds of influences and sometimes, I must confess, have gone far wrong. They have sometimes betrayed their own culture and their own past and all that is sacred in that culture. But it must be said to the credit of women that they have preserved that culture and have kept it intact within the home and they have contributed not a little to the imposition of some kind of balance on their men also. And so, it is that, in spite of all kinds of revolutions, political and other, we have continued to be a nation with a distinct personality, and in spite of all that has happened during the past several centuries, in spite of foreign domination, in spite of conquest

after conquest by foreigners, India has remained what she is today because her women remained Indian women; and let me hope that under the auspices of the great saint, Sri Rama-krishna, this institution will maintain and revive and recapture the spirit of that culture and heritage.

I am happy, therefore, to inaugurate the highest degree which you are going to give to the children in this very important science. Let me hope that the students who will go out with their degrees will prove to be good custodians of their past and progressive in modern ideas so as to be able to keep pace with all that is going on in the world, and while maintaining the best and most valuable in our home, they will not ignore or neglect the past.

I congratulate you on the way you have started your work. If there is one thing which I sometimes fear is responsible for much of what passes for indiscipline, it is neglecting the religious aspect of our life and the cultural and spiritual background which has so long sustained us. Here, under the auspices of Swami Ramakrishna and with the inspiration which you are getting also from Mahatma Gandhi, I hope this institution will serve the higher purpose which you have in view.

Synthesis between Village and Town Life

I AM REALLY happy that it has been at last possible for me to visit this institution in the way in which I had wished to on two former occasions, but failed to do so. I am really grateful to my friend, Shri Avinashilingam Chettiyar for the opportunity he has given me of meeting the young men who are coming out of this institution today as full-fledged graduates.

The Vidyalaya has very sacred associations. It bears the name of Swami Vivekananda. They have also been students of and have running it, have been inspired by the teachings of that great saint and of Swami Vivekananda. They have also been students of and have been influenced very largely by Mahatma Gandhi in their life and in their work. So it is a combination of both our ancient and modern culture which we see prospering here within this institution.

As Mr. Avinashilingam has told us, the question of education has been exercising the minds of our leaders for a pretty long time. We have had a system which has come down to us from the time of the British. It was intended to serve a particular purpose and today when that purpose has

become very much enlarged and various other considerations have come in, it naturally requires adjustment, and if necessary, even complete overhauling. Institutions like the one where I find myself today are intended to do first experiment work for any big and fundamental change which has to be introduced in our system of education.

It is, therefore, a great responsibility which this institution has taken upon itself in organising three courses for three types of young people who will go out to serve in the country. We have always felt—at any rate during my life-time, and now still more—that there is something wanting in the system of education, which does not render us fit for service of the people whom we are expected or intended to serve. The students who pass through our universities go out with a certain amount of intellectual equipment. They go out also, I believe, equipped with a certain amount of moral culture in them; but there is something wanting which cannot connect and link this equipment with the actual requirements of our society, and that is the outlook on life which we develop in our existing institutions which makes us feel as if we were somewhat different from the people as a whole in the midst of whom we have to live. The sooner we are able to remove this difference and to fill this gap, the better we shall be and the sooner we shall be able to serve the country better.

I am, therefore, happy that you have undertaken this big experiment. What the country needs today is the mixing up of the so-called educated with the so-called uneducated—I say so-called educated because I do not look upon all the educated people as really educated. Nor do I regard all those who are called uneducated as really uneducated because there are certain respects in which they are superior even to the so-called educated. But apart from that, what we really need is a kind of synthesis between the life that we have to live in the villages and the life we have to live in the cities after receiving education in, the universities. I may mention just one instance which glaringly points out all the difference it makes. Take, for example, the need of medical relief in our rural areas. I know in many places Government have been anxious to send out medical graduates to rural areas to take up the work there; but they find it difficult to get medical graduates, to take up the work. They prefer to work in cities. Similarly, now that you have started work in the villages, the kind of work which a village worker has to perform is of a somewhat different type and therefore, the student who has simply passed through the current university course finds it difficult to adjust himself to the rural conditions. It is, therefore, necessary that this gap should be filled up between our rural life and the life of the so-called educated people, and that can be done through institutions of this type. I am, therefore, happy that you have started this work and it is

really a matter of good fortune that we have got such a devoted band of workers as members of the Ramakrishna Mission and a worker like Shri A. Chettiyar to guide and run this institution.

I congratulate the students not only on their having obtained their degrees and diplomas but on the fact that they have the good fortune of having lived in an institution like this and received their education here. They are going out with a certain responsibility which they will have always to bear in mind. I am glad that under the vow which the students have just taken, they have to live according to the precepts which they have learnt here. What they have learnt here should find expression in their thoughts, words and deeds and that can be done only when we are able to bring about a complete synthesis between our words, deeds and thoughts and when we are able to follow what we have learnt at the feet of the teachers, whether through books or through their mouth and I can only hope that these young people who have received their training in different directions, some in village work, some in engineering and some in agriculture, will be able to fulfil the object, which is to serve the people amongst whom they have to live, and that is whatever sphere of activity they would be engaged, they will be able to earn the goodwill of all those whom they have to serve and feel that they have done a good job of their work. When they have felt satisfied that they have done their work well and when they are able to earn the goodwill of those amongst whom they have been working, I have no doubt that the authorities of this institution which is going to send them out into the world, will also feel quite happy.

Recognition of Artists

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be present once again to give away national awards instituted by the Sangeet Natak Akademi. There was a time when the establishment of the various Akademies, including yours, was generally looked upon as no more than an experiment. Now that these Akademies have got going after settling all the preliminaries, the experimental stage may be said to have ended. They have entered now the organisational stage.

The work of the Sangeet Natak Akademi was as arduous as that of the other sister bodies. You had to lay down criteria in the light of generally accepted principles, and having done so you had to face the task of exploring talent throughout the country and conferring recognition on it wherever it

Speech made while giving away National Awards at the Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, February 28, 1961.

was found. This work continues and is ever likely to remain a part of your programme in future as well. In so far as whatever the Akademi has accomplished, has been achieved in full co-operation with all existing schools of dance and music and all the institutions concerned with the propagation of these fine arts, it must be said that your efforts have met with the desired success. Through holding annual competitions and giving national awards to those adjudged best in their respective spheres, the Sangeet Natak Akademi has made the public art-conscious and the artistes keen to improve upon their performance.

Good as it is, so far as it goes, this is only one aspect of the question. The other side of it is that of ideological or purposive approach. I take it that the idea is not only to keep music and the other arts alive as they are, but to ensure that they continue to progress and evolve themselves in keeping with the high traditions on which they are founded and in accordance with the needs which the ever-changing conditions pose. In other words, raising the standard and the quality of performance in each case is also one of the objects of your Akademi. It has, therefore, to strive to carry these fine arts to the highest point of perfection without, at the same time, creating any awkward gap between them and the popular taste.

These arts constitute man's emotional expression par excellence, and as such they are linked indissolubly with human beings. I do not think it can be disputed that, in a sense, all these arts have a didactic value which need not detract from their artistic excellence. He who thinks that art exists entirely for art's sake, is, in my opinion, as much mistaken as one who stands for commercialisation of art. To get the best out of these arts and to develop them in the right way, we have to strike the middle path.

The Sangeet Natak Akademi, which is the principal All-India Organisation, responsible for the encouragement and development of dance, drama and music has, I am glad to say, proceeded about its task methodically, though cautiously. Your plan to compile a glossary of technical terms and texts relating to Indian music, dance and drama is commendable. The utility of having such a compilation is self-evident, as this will not only facilitate a study of these arts but also their proper appreciation by the people. Equally important is your proposal of recording great living musicians of the Carnatic and Hindustani schools and filming folk dances. These are facilities denied to earlier generations but readily available to us, thanks to the development of science and technology. There is no better way of preserving what is good in music and dance.

These days we talk quite a lot of the emotional integration of our people; and rightly so, because such an integration which through collective emotional

experience brings diverse elements in our society closer, will tend to strengthen the bonds of national unity. Dance, drama and music, bring among the finest manifestations of emotions, provide the very stuff which encourages such integration and provides it with a secure foundation. Therefore, even from this point of view, the value of these arts is considerable. Let the various schools of music flourish, specially the Carnatic and Hindustani schools, but let there be mutual appreciation of the Carnatic school in the North and the Hindustani school in the South. Such appreciation, based on emotional sanctions provided by these arts, will be as valuable as facts of history or political necessity.

India is a very big country in which one has to arrive at the concept of unity through diversity. The harmony, which fine arts like music and dance provide is, to my mind, the best means of not only softening the edges of these diversities but also having through them a glimpse of the unity they lead to. Apart from this didactic aspect, music is a great force for uplifting human beings and sublimating life's coarser elements. That is why, fine arts like dance and music have been closely associated with religious devotion and spiritual experience. This process of elevation can be turned both for the betterment of the individual as well as the society. One may also say that through rhythm and movement, dance and music inculcate a discipline which helps the process of elevation.

I am very happy to meet all the veteran artistes who have been chosen for national awards this year. Whatever I have said may, perhaps, be common place for them and most of others present here. Even if I have emphasized the obvious, let me hope it will have its own value so far as it will serve to help the common people to see music and other fine arts in the right perspective.

I would like to congratulate all those who have won this year's awards and thank the Sangeet Natak Akademi for asking me to participate in this pleasant function.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The Technique of Collecting Taxes

I AM VERY happy to have this opportunity of meeting you all here, though, for a short time. The work which lies ahead of you is very important and it requires, apart from technical skill, integrity of a very high order. I was telling Mr. Rao that some time ago I had an opportunity of meeting the employees in the sister organisation of Accounts & Audits there in Simla and those young friends who had been already appointed and were now receiving practical training for their work were, more or less, like you all because they were also appointed only a short time before I saw them and you have also not had any long service to your credit yet. The difference that I see between their work and your work is that your work is prior to their work. Their work begins after yours is finished.

First the money has to be obtained, then an account of it has to be kept and later still, expenditure has to be audited. So, you are, more or less, the base on whose foundation the big edifice of our finance is built up. Now, you know that this income-tax business is not a very old business, as far as this country is concerned not very old. We know this, that it is a growing department, growing because sources of income are growing and also because sources which were not taxed before are being taxed now. So, both in depth as well as in width it is a growing department. The higher rates and the wider range both are there and you are the people who have to help the State to raise the revenue which a State needs but at the same time the revenue has to be raised in a way that it does not cripple the sources and while your work requires constant vigilance, it will require also in certain respects stringency and strictness. It will also require sympathetic handling.

You know the difficulty of a man who has to pay. In the first place, you have to see to it that he is not unjustly taxed but at the same time the State is also not deprived of what is due to it. Now it is for you to draw the line between unfair assessment and fair assessment—unfair neither to the State nor to the assessee. That requires skill, as I said, and a great deal of

integrity also. I must say that our experience has been that as our income has grown, we have found our officers coming up to the mark and we have not found any ground for any complaint against their conduct in the discharge of their duties which as I said, are rather unpleasant from many a point of view. You must also realise that this is one of those sources of income which is bound to grow more and more. Take for example, the amount of income tax from the agriculturist.

I come from a part of the country where we had, what was called the Permanent Settlement. I think the permanent settlement was made in the time of Lord Cornwallis. It meant that man had to pay perpetually a certain fixed amount for a village which was settled with him. It was never to be raised and for a long time the idea was that there would be no agricultural income tax either because once the settlement was made it was a permanent settlement. But as times changed, you have introduced agricultural income tax. Now we have got agricultural income tax in most of the States. But I believe it is still in its infancy and it is bound to grow. I do not know whether it will bring more income but your work will increase because there is a certain demand on the part of some people that instead of charging revenue or rent on land, every agriculturist should require to pay income tax having the same exemptions which other income-earners have and having more or less, the same system applied to them. Now when that becomes as widespread as, for example, land revenue, well, I suppose, your work will become manifold and then, in any case, you will have to look into the accounts of the agriculturist and just find out whether he is liable to assessment or not and if he is, the amount of assessment.

Now, you have been doing that in the case of people who are businessmen, who know how to keep accounts but an agriculturist is, essentially, not an accountant. He does not keep accounts. He knows his field, he cultivates it, raises a crop on it, sells as much as he requires to sell for his cash purposes and consumes the rest. There is no occasion for him to keep anything like a balance sheet and it is entirely his own business and a business which is carried on very largely by the members of his family. If he is to employ some labourers, well, he gives them a part of the crop, a share, he has. Very often wages are paid in kind, not in cash. So, the question of accounting does not arise in the case of many agriculturists. But, when the income tax is applied to them well, it will become very difficult to make them keep accounts and still difficult to check those accounts for the assessment of their incomes.

This is just an illustration. Similarly, now there are various kinds of exercise which we are having. The Customs Department, the Excise

Department, and the Income tax—these are the three sources of revenue which are, of course, under the Board of Revenue. But for specialisation, they have got separate men looking after their departments.

Now that we are spending hundreds of millions, thousands of millions, we are going to spend now, a great part of which will have to come from your source, from income tax source. Your work is very difficult and will become more and more difficult not necessarily technically difficult, but more widespread and would require intensive work. That is going to be so and we are hoping that the younger people like yourselves, who are coming up, need not only to maintain old reputation but you will also have to enhance it so that later on, those who may come after you follow the traditions which are of very great value.

I mention this because traditions play a great part in all these matters. When the country was divided and we became independent with the partition, well, if we did not have the trained civil service, we would have found ourselves in great difficulty. By Civil Service, I do not mean only those in charge of administration—police, military, income tax department, the various departments apart from the Army, Civil as distinguished from the Defence Forces, if we did not have that well-organised service all over the country, we would have found ourselves in great difficulty. They were of great assistance and we were able to carry on with their help. In a country like France, to shape itself, there is but one thing, and that is the Civil Service which carried on the administration. Their administration is not any worse than the administration of other countries. It is the Civil Service which maintains the purity as well as the efficiency of the administration of that country.

Here in this country also, we do not know how the future is going to shape itself, but there is one thing, and it is that the Civil Service of the various departments of the Government have to take more and more responsibility, responsibility not for laying any policy but responsibility for executing policies, for giving actual shape to the policy which is decided by the Government. You will also remember that whatever the policy is, you are not concerned with that, but you may sometimes become the target for criticism, but that may be irrelevant criticism, as you are not responsible for laying down the policy. You are only responsible to carry on the policy that is laid down by those in executive effectively and efficiently. As your work increases, your responsibility also will increase. I would expect you to have wide sympathies so that you can serve the Government as well as the people well.

I am full of hope because I know young people who have joined our Services after independence are shaping well both in the I.A.S. and in the Audit Department. I saw the I.A.S. trainees also and I have had the opportunity of meeting you here today. Of course, I sometimes see the Army and Police people. I am taking only Civil side of it and I have full hopes that they will shape very well and we can look forward with confidence to a good future for the country. Only everyone has to do the duty by the country and everyone should realise that he owes a duty to the country which is over and above everything else.

I wish you all good luck and I hope you will derive the greatest benefit from your training here and when you actually take up the work, you will find yourself not at sea but find yourself on a familiar ground. This is the object of this training and I may just give my own personal experience. You see, I was a lawyer to begin with. There used to be a system, I hope it is still there that a lawyer who is to join High Court has to undergo training under an experienced lawyer for two years. Whether he had passed the Law Examination or not, even if one was preparing for examination, he could undergo this training but without this training he could not become an advocate of the High Court. That was the rule in those days.

When I joined a distinguished lawyer—those days they used to call him Articled Clerk—well, I was preparing for Law Examination. I had nothing else to do. I felt I should utilise the time. So I used to go every morning to the house of my senior and work in his office. I used to prepare cases for him, I used to read the papers, prepare notes for him so that he was relieved of the trouble of going through all the papers and reading everything. In cases which were to be argued I used to prepare notes. The notes of the cases to be argued require references of decisions and Laws. I used to prepare the note mentioning the particular Law in the Section, particular ruling of the High Court, etc. I used to do all this. At noon I used to go to the Court and used to sit there and listen to the arguments of my lawyer in the case wherein I had already prepared notes myself and I found that they were quite satisfactory and my own experience was that I could do the work as well as anyone who has put in some years practice but who has not undergone this training.

That is why I was anxious that you get practical experience. The practical training that you get is through the actual working: disposing of cases, looking into accounts and actually making assessments. You go through all these stages of an officer who has actually to do the work. Only you do not take decision. If you make good use of your time, I am sure, it will be

of great help to you in later life. Well, what more shall I say except to wish good luck to all of you.

Importance of Research in Agriculture

I AM GLAD that I have had this opportunity of paying a visit to this institute this afternoon. We have research institutes of various types all over the country and there is no doubt that most of them are doing good and useful work. But coming as I do myself from a village, I feel that something done to improve agriculture stands far higher in importance and in its essential value than anything else that we can do in this country; and that is because, in spite of the great strides being made to advance the country industrially, we still have something between 70 to 80 per cent of the population not only dependent upon agriculture but a great part of it is actually engaged in agriculture. Agriculture is not only the biggest single item of producing wealth in this country, it is also the biggest single item of finding employment for millions in this country, and however great the progress may be which he may achieve within any foreseeable future, one cannot hope to see agriculture displaced by anything else either in its wealth, producing capacity or job finding quality. From both points of view, therefore, anything that you can do here or anything that can be done anywhere in the country to improve agriculture should be doubly welcome. I am, therefore, very happy to be associated with this function.

As you have pointed out, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, this institute has a brilliant history extending over some fifty years and within that period it has achieved results which have been of great significance not only to this State but to the whole of India. I come from a part of the country where sugarcane is the principal crop and I know how the researches carried on here were able to discover new strains of sugarcane which were accepted and adopted by agriculturists all over the country.

It is ordinarily but, I think, wrongly believed that our agriculturists are very conservative and that it is not possible to introduce changes either in their methods or in their lives. I believe that is a wrong statement because, taking the sugarcane for example, I can say from personal experience that in our parts, when the new strain was introduced—and actually some farmers made experiments with the new type of sugarcane—it did not take long for others to follow them and to adopt the new strain, and within two or three years, I think not more than five years, there was hardly a single sugarcane

Speech made while laying the foundation-stone of the Regional Post Graduate Agricultural Research Institute, Coimbatore, August 10, 1958.

found in the whole state which was of the old variety. Your researches also went on side by side and the result was that it was not one quality which was discovered but qualities differed from year to year almost and new varieties came into vogue almost every year and we found that the agriculturists were equally prepared to change to the new variety as soon as it was found that it was a good variety and would give better yield. There of course, the sugarcane is sold to factories and there are two things which our agriculturists have to take into consideration in growing a particular variety. The factory owner tests the sugar content of the cane and the agriculturist wants the weight of the sugarcane because it is purchased by the factory by weight, and so they were able between themselves to decide which was the variety best suited to that particular area; and as I have said, they did not take any time in adopting new varieties as soon as they were convinced that the new variety was better from their point of view.

I am not sure the same thing can be said about many other crops, at any rate in our parts-paddy, or maize or wheat; they are some of our important crops. Some research has been carried on, I believe, in respect of these, but I am not sure if the results of these researches have gone to the same extent as researches in the case of sugarcane. It is possible that the results were not so very spectacular and, therefore, they did not catch. It is possible that the results of these researches have not been carried to the actual cultivator in the field. It is possible that the method of cultivation required for new varieties is different and perhaps beyond the resources of the ordinary cultivator. Whatever the reason may be, it must be confessed that in the case of other crops, the same progress has not been reached in introducing new varieties as in the case of sugarcane, and that, I would suggest, is one of the things which your research workers could take into consideration. As I have said, I am speaking only from the experience of one part of the country. It is possible that there conditions are different and here you have been able to induce cultivators to introduce new varieties of other crops also, and it is possible that here they have been convinced of the value of introducing new varieties and may have actually adopted them. If that is so, you should be able to pass on your experience and the results of your experiments to other states also so that they might also profit by them as they did profit by the researches in sugarcane.

As I have said, agriculture is the mainstay of this country and it is going to remain so. Is it not, therefore, a strange phenomenon that in a country which is agricultural, which has land which is fertile, which has got wide resources which should be ample, and which has also got experience of centuries if not of millennia behind its agriculture, we should still be wanting to import foodgrains from other countries and we should still be

compelled to look to other countries to feed our population. But that is an unfortunate fact which we cannot ignore, and even today whenever our Food Minister, who is also the Agriculture Minister, has to speak, he speaks more about import of food than anything else. It is really a matter of pain for us that in this country we should be required to look to other countries to feed our population. We should be able at least to feed ourselves if not to feed others in other countries. The way in which these researches are carried on will be the measure of success which we attain in this direction, because after all we have got to raise the yield per acre. You may have prizes won by people who are able to raise a tremendously high yield. That may be like a race-horse which wins races but which cannot draw your bullock-cart or carriage.

Every agriculturist, whether he has three or five acres or even a quarter of an acre, should be able to grow more than he does today, and unless that is done, our food problem will not be solved. We cannot forget the fact that in this country we have millions of people who are engaged in agriculture. It is not a country in which there are farms where only a limited number of people are to be approached, and who are also educated, who have also resources to introduce farming with improved methods of cultivation, improved varieties of seeds, and also commanding plenty of irrigation. We have to deal with millions of people with very small holdings.

I do not know what the average holding here is, but there are places, certainly in my province where the average per head would not exceed one quarter of an acre, and where the average holding will not be more than say two to three acres per family. We have to deal with a population of that type and a problem of that type. How are you going to reach all these millions of people? How are you going to teach them about that best and latest methods of cultivation? Where are you going to find the resources? We have, therefore, to be on the ground to be able to see what their needs are and how those needs can be met not only by the rich but by the poorest, and then alone will the researches be successful when every cultivator, even though he may be a small cultivator, is able to produce, say, two mounds where he produced only 1 1/2 or one mound today. That is the problem and I believe it can be solved not only by big people but by ordinary small tillers. Even the biggest amongst us has to become small enough to be able to appreciate the difficulty of the small man and we have to place ourselves in his position so that we may discover the means and methods which will be available to him and which he can adopt without any difficulty.

That is one of the problems which face the country and I believe your Research Institute which, I am quite sure, has been doing splendid work,

will always keep itself stuck to the ground, for if there is anything in which you have to stick to the ground, it is agriculture. Literally, I am a metropolitan and I hope your research students, scholars and professors will pay special attention to this aspect of it, and I have no doubt that with all the experience which they have gathered and the work which they have to their credit, and with all the enthusiasm with which they have been working and they can command, they will be able to solve this problem.

Let me hope that when I come next, and I hope it will not be very long, you would be able to show me something which will satisfy these needs and which will be helpful in solving the problem of food for the country. I need hardly assure you how grateful I am by what I have seen. Our agriculture, as you know, depends very largely on our cattle. Here in this country with the average of a few acres, I do not know how we are going to introduce mechanization. We shall have to depend upon the bullock, may be also buffalo, but certainly upon the bullock for any foreseeable future, and unless we improve the quality of our bullock side by side with the methods of agriculture, unless we improve the instruments of agriculture which our bullock will be capable of using, we cannot make much headway in agriculture. The agriculturist and his bullock should be able to use the new methods, and therefore I am glad you are not confining your activities only to the improvement of the crops and the fruits and herbs, but you are also trying to improve the breed of your cattle, and there I should like to say one thing.

During the last sixty or seventy years or hundred years, during the British period, the emphasis was on improving the breed of cattle which will give more milk, because in other countries, particularly in England, bullocks are not used for cultivation purposes. The cow is used only for milk and the British people were largely interested in only milk and, therefore, all their researches and attention were confined to improving the milk yield of the cow. They were not much interested in the calf. The result was phenomenal. There has been great improvement in the milk yield, but what we need is not only milk, but also a strong calf, a strong bullock and, therefore, we need breeds which can serve both purposes, which can give us good milk and good bullock to do the work of drawing the plough and of carrying loads on the bullock cart.

You will no doubt be thinking on those lines, and if side by side with the improvement of agriculture, you can also improve the breed of cattle, of the cow and the bullock which will serve both purposes, namely, the purpose of yielding good milk as well as draught cattle, you will have achieved a great thing, and you will have served not only agriculture, but will also have helped

the people. By and large in this country, even those who have no objection to non-vegetarian food, are also vegetarian because meat is not as common in this country as in other countries. Therefore here, one important source of nourishment is milk and milk products and for that purpose the cow has to be improved so that she may give us better milk and more milk, and as I have said, she should also be able to give us better bullocks, so that while on one side, it will contribute to lessening the deficiency in our nutrition, on the other side, it also will help to increase the other items of food, namely grains, fruits and other things. If we go on improving in all these directions, we shall have all round development and our agriculture will then become most profitable.

I am happy that you have given me this opportunity of inaugurating this Institute and of laying the foundation stone. I am quite sure in course of time you will be able to show the same kind of fruitful results as you have done in the past and will be in the vanguard of progress in all matters concerning agriculture.

Rourkela Steel Works

AS A PUBLIC worker, as the Minister in the Central Government and for some years now as President of the Indian Republic I have had the good fortune of being associated in various capacities with many a public undertaking. With all that experience, I confess to a sense of pleasure and satisfaction that I am feeling today when my good friend Shri Swaran Singh, Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel, has invited me to inaugurate the Rourkela Steel Works. As you all know, it is one of the three major steel plants that we are going to have shortly in the public sector. To be associated, in such a flattering way with this big project, first among the three, is a privilege which I would ever cherish.

Shri Swaran Singh has already given you necessary details of the Rourkela Steel Works, its brief history, its capacity and its potentialities. Seeing this giant plant in the midst of a big buzzing township, my mind goes back to the days when this region was hardly anything more than a vast expanse of barren roadless, derelict tract. I recollect having passed through it several times while travelling from Calcutta to Wardha and Bombay. Even today one cannot help seeing the pinkish stretches of land on both sides of the railway track, relieved only here and there by small patches of green fields. Government had already arranged through the construction of the Hirakud Dam to confer fertility on this land. But few imagined that this

area would one day become the centre of such a big industrial undertaking. Through this project, it has now been linked with India's industrial belt in Bihar, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh.

The going into production of Rourkela Steel Works along with other similar units which are also partially complete, encourages one to feel that this region known for its mineral wealth bids fare to become, in course of time, the Ruhr of India. With the wheels of industry moving from Rourkela and the benevolent waters of the Hirakud Dam flowing in all directions, one can be sure that the times are soon going to change for the better, particularly for the people inhabiting this area. Rourkela Steel Works is no doubt a national undertaking and its working is going to have an impact on the economy of the whole country, but it is the proud privilege of the people of Orissa to have this plant in their midst. Let us hope they will benefit from it in a special way

I see before me thousands of those hands whose labour and technical skill have been mainly responsible for turning a dream into a reality. To all these friends I would offer my warm congratulations and sincere good wishes. They can feel proud of the successful conclusion of their hard labour and sustained efforts for more than three years. It will take some time more for the project to be complete in its entirety, but the first major phase in its implementation has been reached today. They have every reason to feel that they have been able to make a substantial contribution to India's nation-building effort, and this in itself is a priceless reward for every patriotic Indian.

I would particularly like to say a few words to our German friends. The goodwill of the West German Government, the technical skill and the spirit of co-operation on the part of all of you who have worked hard in the not-too-inviting-climate of these parts, have been responsible for the coming of the Rourkela Steel Works into existence. According to our ancient tradition, *Gyandan*, the giving of knowledge, was considered to be a great boon, a blessing no doubt for him who receives but a still greater blessing for him who gives. Let me hope that you will share that faith with us and while imparting technical knowledge to our men you will also have the satisfaction of having widened the scope of your technological attainment. To all of you, ladies and gentlemen, who have come all the way from Germany to work here I offer my greetings and sincere thanks.

I am happy to say that this huge undertaking has been accomplished with the ready and willing co-operation of the Government of Orissa, Indian Railways, the Hirakud authorities and various other organisations and concerns, both official and private. I would like to compliment them all on their performance.

Since our independence, the principal preoccupation of our Government has been to reconstruct the country's economy so that production in all spheres can be increased substantially to improve our people's living and to provide them basic amenities of life. To achieve this end, the Government has resorted to planned economy, that is to say, reconstruction by stages and with people's full co-operation. We are now in the midst of our Second Five Year Plan of which this Steel Works also forms a part. It is no small satisfaction to know that the targets of production which we fixed in the First Five Year Plan were reached in almost all cases, in some cases production going even beyond the targets. As for the Second Plan which is, in many respects, more elaborate and the targets are naturally higher, every effort is being made to implement it. Completing the various projects envisaged in it, is essentially a task which calls for popular co-operation. Whatever success has been achieved is in a large measure due to the support of the public. Therefore, along with those who have laboured on this plant and the Government, who in consultation with German firms prepared its blueprint, the people are also deserving of my congratulations, which I offer them.

Friends, Rourkela, Bhilai and other projects are no more than symbols of our aspirations; if you like I may call them the means of achieving the end which we have set for ourselves. We are determined to create a Welfare State in this country, a State in which every citizen can be assured of a reasonably comfortable house, sufficient clothing and enough to eat. The establishment of basic heavy industries like the one which I have the honour of inaugurating today signifies a stage in our journey on to that destination. Let me hope that Rourkela Steel Works will bring nearer the realisation of our cherished dream, the establishment of a Welfare State in India. May it prove to be a true portent of the future and may the bellows of this plant herald the new age we are so eager to usher in, is my hope and prayer.

Once again, I would like to thank each one of you who was privileged to work on this great project and congratulate you on the completion of this phase.

I have great pleasure now in inaugurating production at the Rourkela Steel Works.

Irrigation and Flood Control

IT IS A pleasure and a privilege for me to have been asked to inaugurate this 30th Annual Meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power and I am thankful to Shri Hayath and the Board for their invitation. I have followed with interest Shri Hayath's address, particularly the description of the gradual growth of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power and its varied activities over the last 30 years.

Having been born and brought up in a village, and hailing as I do from a State which unfortunately is afflicted now and then either by drought or by floods and not unoften by both, I have always felt drawn towards the problems of irrigation. Speaking generally, we in this country do not suffer from shortage of water; the rueful story of recurring floods would militate against such an assumption. Nor would it be true to say that on the whole we have excessive or scanty rains as some countries in the tropical belt have. Nature has endowed us with ample rainfall and sufficient water resources in the shape of rivers and at the same time given us the blessing of bright sunshine for the major part of the year. It seems, therefore, to me that our problems of drought and floods are no more than a question of proper distribution and proportionate allocation of the available water in the country. This problem is by no means new and the remedy which I have referred to is no discovery of the moderners. In India and in several other countries, we have enough evidence to prove that the problem of irrigation has been agitating the human mind since immemorial times. In our own country several canals, tanks and dams have been found which can be traced to the pre-Christian era of our history. Of course it is true that we are today in a much better position than our forbears in fighting the menace of drought and floods. Thanks to the development of engineering and technological skill, we are today better equipped for harnessing natural resources, including those of water, in the service of humanity.

I know it is a colossal problem and calls for both resources and time to be tackled effectively. We know with what persistence and perseverance we have been engaged on several of our river valley projects. Meticulous planning, husbanding of the national resources and relentless efforts for executing them have no doubt begun to bear fruit. Some of the projects have been partially completed and work is still proceeding on the rest. But we know too well the ordeals, aggravated by foreign exchange difficulties.

We are, however, trying to carry them out as best as we can, because we know that without implementing these projects we can never succeed in breaking the back of our basic problem, that is, the problem of poverty and scarcity.

As for flood control, apparently it looks as an accident benefit accruing from our river valley projects, but in actual fact that is a positive aspect of our planning. As Shri Hayath has said, the yearly damage caused by floods comes to no less than Rs. 50 crores. Let alone this huge loss in terms of money, these floods from which no part of India is immune are invariably followed by a trail of misery and suffering.

I would, therefore, make bold to say that floods no less than droughts pose a challenge to our engineers and their skill. The common man is unable to understand a situation in which large areas in the country suffer from scarcity of water for half the year and get marooned during the other half calling for succour to be rehabilitated. I remember last year when life in Delhi was dislocated by heavy rains in July, people were heard wondering why excessive rain water could not be arrested to improve the capital's water supply or otherwise remove chronic shortage of water. I do not mean to say that such glib talk by ignorant people can be taken as justifiable criticism, but I do not see how even the ignorant can be prevented from concluding from the present state of affairs that the science of engineering is yet to get the better of Delhi's problems.

To a large extent, the wave of impatience among the people has to be welcomed as a sign of awakening and healthy expectancy. Our engineers and technologists have certainly to rise to the occasion and they are doubtless applying themselves to the task of solving these problems in the light of and with the help of latest technological developments. Though, comparatively speaking, India is still looked upon among backward countries, we have to our credit some of the finest achievements of the science of engineering. Some of our dams and power plants are veritable feats of engineering and have drawn tribute of praise from engineers of the world. We are, indeed, well set on the road to taming Nature and harnessing her forces for the benefit of man. Considerable success has been achieved in this direction, though much more remains to be achieved. Anyone who moves about in the country can see how networks of roads have been laid in the country side in all States, linking remote hamlets with the busy world of the towns or the market place.

As a result of these developments and other nation-building activities a new drama is being enacted in our rural areas which can be likened only to a silent revolution. The gushing waters of canals and the hope of getting irrigational facilities in the near future have gone a long way in cheering the

tillers of the soil. And to add to the charm of the atmosphere, electric light has been carried to the villages, at least in some parts of the country, as a symbol of the new dawn of the era of freedom and prosperity. It is, indeed a truism that availability of energy at economic rates and industrialisation are related to each other almost like cause and effect. The development of industries the world over bears out the truth of this maxim. Cheap energy, which we hope to supply when all our hydroelectric projects are completed, is bound to change the face of our towns and villages alike. It is an essential prerequisite both for the heavy industries as well as the small-scale or cottage industries.

For this big change that is coming and the many benefits which have already started accruing from our projects, the Nation has to thank its planners and, more than that, its engineers responsible for implementing the projects. I am sure I would not be held guilty of indulging in a platitude if I were to say that all of you whom I have the privilege of addressing today and your brother engineers in the country can feel proud of the fact that every moment of your life you are busy building up new India. You are verily engaged in the task of reconstructing a great nation. Your profession is, indeed, a noble calling. But, at the same time, I agree with you that you must have conditions of service commensurate with the important role which you play in the country's life. I have, therefore, nothing but sympathy and support to offer in your efforts to get a fair deal from the Government. I see no reason why technical personnel should not be treated at par with administrative personnel, and technical services should not be given the same emoluments and advantages as the country's administrative services. I am sure sooner or later it is bound to happen as our Planning Commission, and more than anyone else, our Prime Minister, have repeatedly supported this view.

I can hardly give you any advice that might be of help to you in your deliberations. All that I can say is that, while big projects are good and worth achieving, I hope you do not look down upon smaller projects including wells and village tanks which may be easier of accomplishment and can be made to bear fruit sooner. There may be occasions when smaller irrigation schemes can confer greater benefit and in such cases I hope you would attach the same importance to them as to bigger projects. Our limited resources, specially of foreign exchange, also point to the need of leaving no small project unattended to if it can confer any benefit howsoever limited. In fact, as in the case of heavy and small-scale industries, we must strike some sort of balance between big and small projects. That will ensure maximum benefit to the largest number of people without unnecessary loss of time.

Once again, I thank you, for asking me to inaugurate this annual meeting and for providing me an opportunity to express some of my views on the problems which the Central Board of Irrigation and Power has to tackle.

Produce More to Prosper

I AM VERY happy to be in your midst this morning for inaugurating the Eleventh Session of the Conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers. It is a matter of great joy to me, and I am sure also to the farmers of this country that you, in response to the invitation by the Bharat Krishak Samaj, selected India as the venue of the first Conference which you are holding in Asia. I have been connected with agriculture since my childhood and it has always given me greatest pleasure to meet farmers and farm leaders from all parts of the world. I am happy, therefore, to meet here farm leaders from some two dozen countries of the world belonging to above 40 organisations.

India, as you all know, is primarily an agricultural country. The profession of more than 75 per cent of our people is farming. Agriculture has been given a place of very high importance in our ancient treatises and scriptures. The profession of farming has always been considered to be one of the noblest of avocations which men pursue.

The veneration that we Indians feel for Mother Earth has been described in many of our sacred books and is woven into the folklore of our country. It is also not merely a matter of sentiments for us. The role that Mother Earth plays in our lives is fully understood and extolled. Generation after generation, the earth has provided food for an ever-growing population. The demand made on food supplies by the growth of population is increasing at a fast rate. The population of India has already, it is calculated, exceeded the 400 million mark. To feed and afford adequate nourishment to such a large number is, therefore, a great responsibility that our farmers have to discharge. But if the demand is to be adequately met, increase in productivity per acre of our land is as necessary as the maintenance of fertility of the land at the level which may be reached.

Apart from this, it is now quite obvious that essentially the prosperity and the future of a country like India have to depend on agricultural production to a very large extent. Even for the industries to flourish, lack of progress in agriculture is likely to be detrimental. This is, therefore, a big

Inauguration address at the Eleventh Conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, New Delhi, November 27, 1959.

challenge to the farmers in our country, but I am happy to see that they are becoming increasingly conscious of their responsibility and are preparing to accept the challenge. I feel sure they will not flinch in the face of the task before them.

The delegates to this Conference have probably already heard of the Five Year Plans which have been framed by our Government and which are being implemented with all the zeal, earnestness and resources at our command. Through them we are trying to change the face of this country and to improve the living standards of our people; and all this we seek to do by a very liberal democratic process to which India is so firmly wedded. We are, therefore, sometimes hard-put to it to find adequate ways and means to bring about the desired economic revolution in the shortest possible time with the people's liberties fully intact.

We are naturally not fully satisfied with our achievements, although it has to be admitted that we have not done badly in many spheres. Nonetheless, it is our resolve to persist in framing Five Year Plans for the future and do our utmost with the willing co-operation and help of our people as well as assistance from friendly countries to discharge our responsibilities. Our industrialisation is also growing apace but, as I said earlier, it could never succeed if agriculture were to lag behind. The basic fact which cannot be ignored or minimised is that some 70 to 75 per cent of our population is dependent on agriculture. However fast or however widespread our industrialisation may be, it cannot in foreseeable future be expected to give employment to the vast numbers that exist and are being added to in natural course from year to year at more than 4 million per annum.

Our food production since Independence has increased substantially although we have not been able to catch up with the increased demand. We have been able very nearly to double our sugar production but even that is found to be insufficient. Production of cotton, jute and oilseeds has also shown spectacular increase and yet we could do with more of oilseeds. We have undertaken within the brief period of a dozen years not only large multipurpose projects for harnessing our rivers but also not neglected smaller projects like tube wells and tanks.

We are, thus, trying to provide irrigation facilities to larger and larger areas and we are also determined to make greater use of the scientific knowledge and methods in farming. We have of course many problems to face so far as Indian agriculture is concerned. There is large scale fragmentation of land and the credit available to farmers is also very limited. We have then the perennial threats of floods and droughts and other calamities of Nature to face. We are trying our best to face all these

challenges through the various developmental projects and programmes. These problems inherent in a country of our size have, however, not been able to either frighten us or to overwhelm us. Nonetheless, it is only in recognition of difficulties that lie ahead that we can plan to reach our goal safely and smoothly.

I am particularly happy about the growing realisation amongst the farmers of the world, of the need to take timely stock of the situation in different countries so as to evolve a global pattern of agricultural production. The readiness to help others with all the co-related knowledge and experience gathered by regions which have been more favoured or which have had the advantage of earlier application of modern scientific methods in raising and improving agricultural production is an auspicious sign.

Apart from the official organisation like the F.A.O. and the Agricultural Directorates and Departments in different countries of the world, non-official agencies have a very important and distinct part to play. Recognising this, we in this country organised the Bharat Krishak Samaj (Farmers' Forum of India) as a non-political organisation of farmers devoted to the single ideal of improving Indian agriculture and the lot of agriculturists. I have watched the progress of this organisation with great interest and I am very happy to see that it is growing from strength to strength and is working on the right lines. In the course of the last 5 years of its existence, the Farmers' Forum of India has been able to cover the country and create interest and enthusiasm in the farming community. From the success it has already achieved, it is apparent that such an organisation was the need of the hour. The contacts which the Indian farmers are now establishing the world over and the ready response which they are receiving from various countries is a heartening sign of the things to come.

While increase in agricultural production and recognition for the farmer as the centre and source of all prosperity and well-being are the two ideals to which the International Federation of Agricultural Producers is wedded, I am quite sure that your Federation will unhesitatingly give voice to the conviction that wherever there is poverty, famine or scarcity, countries whose agricultural production is high will extend a hand of cooperation to ensure that all the causes of the economic instability and human suffering are removed.

That this can be done has already been indicated very recently by giving expression to the idea of the establishment of World Food Bank and other methods discussed by the leaders of agriculturists all over the world. Apart from the proposal to establish a World Food Bank, regular exchange of scientific information relating to agriculture, exchange of technical personnel as well as exchange of techniques and closer contacts and co-

operation between the farmers of the world have to become the order of the day.

Farmers in India have constantly to bear in mind the great responsibility that devolves on them of making the country self-sufficient in the matter of food. This they can do by increasing the yield per acre which is very low compared to other countries. Such increase can be achieved if they set their hearts upon it. Efforts are afoot to augment their resources and improve the facilities requisite for it. Let me hope that the increased contacts with farmers of other countries will help them to fulfil the hopes entertained.

I would now like to extend to you all a very hearty welcome to this country and have great pleasure in declaring the 11th Session of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers open.

World Agriculture Fair

IT IS A matter of gratification and congratulation that it has been possible to organize this World Agriculture Fair with the object of affording to Indian farmers an opportunity to view Indian agriculture in the context of world agricultural improvements and to enable them to make a comparative assessment of the progress made in the field of agriculture and allied sciences, village industries and rural and community development activities in India. It is appropriate that this Fair should have been organized by an association of farmers, The Bharat Krishak Samaj, which, within the short period of its five years' existence, has succeeded in establishing branches and subsidiaries in almost all the States of the country. I congratulate the organizers on their success and good fortune in securing the active support and co-operation of the Food and Agriculture Ministry and other Ministries of the Government of India and the States, and a number of associated Departments and Institutions, official and unofficial, in the country. What is even more remarkable is that they have been able to secure the support of many of the countries and the Governments, big and small, of the world. And we have here, on these grounds the pavilions of various countries, exhibiting their latest achievements in production, processing and preservation of food of various types. We are particularly happy to have the President of the United States of America present on this occasion. America had led the world in many spheres of production, including farm or land production. It is in the fitness of things that an Agricultural Fair on such a scale and opened under such high auspices, should be held in India.

Speech on the occassion of the opening ceremony of World Agriculture Fair
New Delhi, December 11, 1959.

India is an agricultural country. We are trying to establish industries, large, small, and cottage industries, on as extensive a scale, and as fast as our resources and present capacity permit. We are hoping that we shall be making good progress and showing good results in that direction. Nevertheless India is, and will continue for a long time to come to be mainly an agricultural country. Agriculture furnishes employment to, by far the largest number of persons in this country—far larger than that employed in all the other industries, organized and unorganized, put together. The value of production and wealth by means of agriculture and allied processes, is also far greater than that of any other industry, if not of all the industries put together. It also supplies an essential article for man's existence, and raw material for the manufacture of some other articles which are equally necessary for man's existence. It is, therefore, not without reason that in India, agriculture, in times of old at least, was looked upon as the best and highest of professions and occupations; and I believe agriculture has not lost that position.

Agriculture has its problems too which are complex, difficult and numerous in this country. Although we are, as I have said, an agricultural country, we are not at present producing as much food as we need for our requirements, and we have to depend on countries like the United States of America to meet the deficit.

The first and foremost question, therefore, not only for an Indian agriculturist, but for the country as a whole, is that of producing enough food for our requirements which are growing from day to day. This difficulty arises because in the very nature of things, land, without which agriculture cannot be practised at all, is limited in quantity and cannot increase. Even if we bring under cultivation uncultivated portions all over the country, the total addition to the cultivated land will not be very large. Addition to the cultivable land is beset with difficulties. We already know that the proportion of land under forests and land under cultivation is not, in this country, favourable to further deforestation and clearing of land for cultivation purposes. Vast areas are dry without adequate rainfall and any other means of irrigation. Besides, such land as is available is divided into small holdings and further fragmentation is going apace. Our people have been in the past quite industrious and good and discriminating agriculturists, and have shown enterprise, judgment and skill in bringing under cultivation land in difficult places and difficult terrain; and although some addition to cultivable land in that kind of terrain and climate may still be possible, I doubt if any substantial increase can be expected. Thus, taking into account and making full allowance for lateral expansion of agriculture, we cannot feel quite assured that it can keep pace with the rapidly expanding population. Even as it is,

India as a country, supports some 400 million people, and the population per square mile* of the entire surface, including uncultivable portions like mountains, forests, lakes and deserts, comes to more than 300. Excluding towns and cities, there are rural areas where the population goes up to 1,200 per square mile. We have also to remember that we are adding to this population at the rate of something like 4 to 5 million every year.

The problem of food naturally, thus, presents a most difficult and urgent problem. We have, on the other hand, a low yield of production per acre which, I am told, is much lower than in many other countries. As I have said, our agriculturists of old were not of a backward or primitive type, and they had, in the course of centuries, made considerable advances in the method and techniques of agriculture, the basic factors of which have not altogether gone out of date even today. They know how to classify land for different types of crops, how and when water is needed for irrigation, the value and utility of manures, the value of rotation of crops, and the different and varying methods of tilling and cultivation suited to different types of land and different crops. They have also got their old traditional implements which they have been accustomed to produce in their own villages. They were able to develop means of irrigation on a small scale by wells and tanks, and on a larger scale by creating big reservoirs of water and taking out distributaries from them. They have also utilised rivers, wherever they had the resources. They have not been able, as they have not had the opportunity or the resources, to utilise the latest and most effective forms of agricultural implements or, to the extent needed, the facilities provided by electricity for lifting water. It is a good thing that considerable advance is being made in all these directions, and with the help and assistance which the country has been fortunate in getting from foreign countries and through the use of the extension services and village development agencies, efforts are being made to help our agriculturists attain the maximum possible result in these respects.

We realise that in the organization and improvements of our agricultural production lies, to a very considerable extent, the further progress of the country towards a State in which there will be no want and no suffering. It is in this view that I welcome the idea of this Fair where our agriculturists from far and near will see before their eyes the progress made not only in parts of the country different from their own, but also in distant countries of the world. They will see demonstrated before their very eyes the methods and results of improved methods of cultivation, better implements, better seeds and better manure. They will also see how pests and insects, which

*1 mile = 1.6 kilometres (approx.)

are such a determined and inescapable enemy of all their efforts, can be controlled, if not eliminated. They will see also how much that goes as waste can be utilised. I have often felt and said that with us the utilisation of waste is an urgent problem, and I have no doubt that much that goes waste, and what is worse, that creates filth, disease and suffering can, by the utilisation of scientific methods, be converted into good eatable grain, which is better and more valuable than the best grain of gold.

It is a patent fact, that it is not desirable for our agriculturists to remain content with their old experience, valuable though it is, but to modernise our agriculture in the light of the latest scientific methods by assimilating and adapting new techniques to our requirements and resources.

I trust that our people will be able to learn and profit through whatever is being done in other countries as being exhibited here. I trust too, that our scientists, specially those interested in agricultural sciences, will be able to see at a glance many of the problems which beset us and get a stimulus to devote themselves to the solution of those problems. I trust that while we shall learn all that is available from other countries, representatives of those countries also who are here in connection with their part in this Fair, will be able to see something of what we are doing, and see it with a critical eye so that they may in their own way be able to utilise that knowledge for furthering the cause of agriculture in the world.

As I have said, I am very happy that the President of the United States of America is here. I understand he himself is interested in agriculture, and proof of that interest is derived from the fact that he himself will open the United States Pavilion on the grounds of this Fair. I hope he will see something of our effort, and if I may add a personal note, I feel proud that if for nothing else, I can count myself as a member of the community of farmers to which President Eisenhower also belongs.

Freedom from Hunger

I AM GLAD to have been asked to inaugurate in India the worldwide "Freedom from Hunger Campaign" under the auspices of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. The struggle against hunger is as old as human civilization. There are not many countries in the world today which are able to produce as much food as they need. Though agricultural operations and the actual production of food are matters which fall within the purview of every country's national activities, the need to

Speech while inaugurating the "Freedom from Hunger Campaign", New Delhi, April 25, 1960.

guarantee sufficient food for all human beings is a matter which has a universal aspect. It is only fitting, therefore, that the call for a campaign against hunger has come from the F.A.O. reminding member-countries, which are 88 including India, of their obligation to intensify measures to solve the problem of food. It is particularly gratifying to me to note that at this critical time the head of this great international organization is an Indian.

All-round scientific and technological advance and use of improved agricultural methods in some countries and by some communities might obstruct a full and accurate view of the ugly face of this problem. It will do us good to know the actual position and face the realities of the situation. It is a fact that more food is produced today than at any previous time in history, but we are far away from being able to provide enough good food for everybody. Indeed, the world's food situation is perhaps more serious now than ever before. There are a number of reasons for it, one of the principal among them being the unprecedented rise in world population.

In the two hundred years between 1650 and 1850 the population of the world doubled. The population doubled once again in the 100 years between 1850 and 1950. The present rate of growth shows that world population will continue to increase and with it the gravity of food problem in vast areas. The situation is indeed alarming, and unless countries of the world do something tangible to increase the production of food, hunger may prove to be as deadly an enemy of man as any weapon of war. It is, therefore, one of our foremost needs that food production is able to keep pace with the ever larger requirements of the increasing population of the earth.

All that I have said just now about the world applies as well with ominous force to India, whose food and nutrition standards are among the lowest in the world. The best that we can do by way of fulfilling our obligations under the charter of the F.A.O. is to strive to increase food production in our own country, in which about one-fifth of the world's population lives. It is true that India is making speedy progress in agricultural production. We have been able to achieve the production targets embodied in our First and Second Five Year Plans. Besides, we have produced substantial quantities of cash crops, particularly jute, cotton, oilseeds and sugarcane to keep the wheels of our important industries moving. Nevertheless, the fact remains that as a nation we are still unable to produce enough to feed our people. Our diet is not only unbalanced but also deficient in terms of nutrition. Our consumption of cloth per capita is among the lowest in the World. There are large areas in the country where soil-erosion is rampant and the fertility of our land is getting rapidly depleted. The income of our agriculturists is not only pitifully low but also extremely irregular as it

is largely dependent on the vagaries of weather. On the other hand, our population is rising continuously and it may well be about 48 crores by the end of the Third Plan.

These facts are irritating and no less humiliating for a nation which is still primarily an agricultural country. If we have to meet the challenge of the situation, we must produce more and follow a balanced agricultural programme providing for additional production of dairy and poultry products, fruits and vegetables to meet the demands of an expanding urban and rural population and to promote gradual improvements in diets. It is clear that the targets fixed by our planners can be achieved only if an all-out emergency food programme is undertaken with the full co-operation of the Government, the farmer, the scientist and the public.

Never before has Government been so conscious of the need for giving agricultural production the highest priority. The Third Five Year Plan is now in the process of being finalised. Provision has been made in it for an investment of Rs. 600 crores on agricultural programmes, Rs. 650 crores on major and medium irrigation projects, Rs. 400 crores on community development and co-operation and Rs. 250 crores for setting up fertiliser factories to provide the much needed fertilisers to the farmers. All these schemes are designed to provide assistance to the farmers in the task of raising food production. But plans of assistance can prove effective only if tillers of the soil are guided properly and educated to take advantage of them. Top leaders of the Nation and village leaders and institutions alike should join in this campaign to inspire all those engaged in agricultural work to develop and to carry out programmes that reach the village and individual cultivators. Never before has an opportunity presented such a challenge to our scientists to lessen the sinister role played by food shortage and hunger. Our land, generally speaking, is not wanting in natural fertility nor is there lack of water, if our water resources are harnessed and utilised. We need only human efforts and utilisation of scientific methods and equipments to increase the yield per acre. It is, therefore, a challenge not only to the ordinary cultivator but also to the scientists and technicians as also to the Government to see to it that his problem is solved by their co-ordinated and combined efforts. We shall thus remove not only one of our own constant headaches and anxieties but will also be contributing to the stabilisation of world conditions in this respect.

Fortunately, there is enough evidence to show that the great Powers too are becoming increasingly conscious of the role they can play to promote world economic development and international co-operation in the sphere of agricultural production. We welcome the recent agreement under

P.L. 480 to supply over 17 million tons of foodgrains to India as a sincere gesture of the U.S.A. to help in our own national development.

Let me express the fervent hope that this spirit of co-operation will grow and further strengthen to enable this “Freedom From Hunger Campaign”, which is being inaugurated throughout the world, to achieve concrete results by bettering the lot of the under-developed regions and thus exterminating the shame and misery of hunger.

Panchayati Raj

I WELCOME THE opportunity of saying a few words on the important question of Panchayati Raj or democratic decentralisation which has a close bearing on the welfare of the Village community in India. As India has still largely a rural economy and about three-fourths of its population still lives in villages, rural welfare in our country really means national welfare. Though the concept of panchayats is as old as Indian polity, the old system has to be fitted into the framework of present-day requirements, which are not only complicated and too many but tend to multiply. The trend towards decentralisation has been thought of, I take it, with a view to facilitating this process of adjustment and also making the working of Panchayat system more effective and efficient.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that it is a step in the right direction. We have already before us the examples of one or two States, notably Rajasthan where this experiment has been launched and is presumable making headway.

I would like to say something as to why we attach importance to this measure. There is an impression that as a result of our development projects and manifold reconstruction plans, the improvement in the countryside has not been as marked as in the urban areas, although it is recognised that in the formulation and implementation of our reconstruction programme if the Government has shown any predisposition, it is in favour of the rural areas. This disparity between intentions and actual results is sought to be explained by the fact that all authority being concentrated in Ministers, the secretariat and a hierarchy of officials, the elements of delay and inaccessibility have affected the village organisations adversely. This criticism may or may not be justified but there can be no doubt that the only way to answer it is to decentralise certain functions, specially those which relate to the working and developing of the Panchayat system.

Address on the occasion of the inauguration of Panchayati Raj in Mysore State, Bangalore, December 21, 1960.

The three-tier organisation as incorporated in your scheme for the establishment of Village Panchayats, Taluk Boards and District Development Councils is, on the face of it, unexceptionable. If worked in the spirit in which it has been thought of, it will vest power and responsibility for improving the villages in the elected representatives of villagers themselves. The first pre-requisite of success of this scheme is proper co-ordination among its three elements. Of course, it goes without saying that - elected members in every case must work in a spirit of service and each one of them must place the village before self. It appears to me that there are only two ways of ensuring smooth working of the units and co-ordination among them. The officials who are appointed to carry on the routine or administrative work will have to be something more than mere office hands. They must have tact and must be motivated by the strength of their own convictions and the spirit of service of the village community. Though probably they will have to be part and parcel of the official machinery, they must think that they owe allegiance to the village people also. Secondly, our legislators must play a prominent role in this process of decentralisation. I am glad you have already stipulated their participation in it at various levels, but I should like that they are called upon to discharge a special responsibility towards the smooth working of the panchayats or Taluk Boards or the District Development Councils falling within their respective constituencies. Being themselves elected representatives of the people, the legislators must set example of earnestness and sincerity of purpose to other elected men and women without in any way lending themselves to what I may call bossism.

Then, there is the question of collaboration of the above-mentioned three units with other official agencies carrying on developmental work in the villages, for example the Community Development Blocks and the Agricultural Extension services. If the village people have to derive the maximum advantage from these efforts, it is of the utmost importance that all the workers irrespective of the levels to which they belong must work with single-minded devotion for the uplift of villages. Their common aim and sole interest, namely, improving living conditions and making an all-round improvement in the countryside, must unite them and provide a sense of direction to their activities.

I am sure that this scheme which we are going to launch today is for the good of the people living in thirty thousand odd villages of this state. I am equally certain that the Government and the people will co-operate in making it a success. Nevertheless, I would like to set a criterion to adjudge the success of this scheme after a period of, say, two or three years. In any case, the common man is bound to take that view of it, that is to say,

he is bound to judge the results in the light of certain standards or criteria, howsoever subjective they may be. I think the safest criterion would be visible improvement in the sanitation and the general look of our villages after the first two years of the working of the scheme. It is an unfortunate fact that most of our villages have standards of cleanliness and sanitation which repel the dwellers of a well-managed city. It may not be a matter of concern in itself, but it affects the village services to some extent. It is too well-known that doctors, teachers and other functionaries are so difficult to find for working in villages. The foremost reason adduced against living in villages is the prevalence of insanitary conditions and utter lack of civic amenities there. It has to be admitted that this belief is not altogether groundless. In the race for development and improvement our villages are no doubt lagging far behind towns and cities. If as a result of the first two or three years of the working of this scheme, any palpable improvement in living conditions in villages is discernible, we should think that democratic decentralisation has been a success. If, however, that is not so, we should take it that efforts have been infructuous. It seems to me that it would be safest to judge the scheme of Panchayati Raj from a criterion like this.

I must compliment the Government of Mysore on the time they have devoted to this important subject and the pains they have taken in evolving this scheme. Let me hope their labours would be rewarded and the villages of Mysore State would derive the maximum advantage from this scheme. Let them know that to an outsider hailing from the North, or for that matter from any other part of the country, Mysore stands for natural charm, beauty and delicacy. This impression has to be further enforced by the village people of the State by improving their affairs and making their hamlets at least as clean and decent looking as Nature intended and their countrymen hope.

On this occasion I would like to send my greetings and best wishes to the people of Mysore State. Wishing the scheme of Panchayati Raj all success, I have great pleasure in inaugurating it.

DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE

Standardisation of Ayurvedic Medicines

AYURVEDIC SYSTEM IS a system which has been in existence in this country since time immemorial. There was a time when it used to be practically the only system that was prevalent in this country and that was known to anyone. At that time it was not lagging behind any other country's system of medical treatment. It was able to keep itself abreast, if not ahead, of all other systems and it was not at all surprising that it should be so because Ayurveda, as the very name implies, is really the science of life and not only of ill health.

In modern times, we lay too much emphasis on ill health and too little on good health probably because good health is assumed as the matter of course and ill health is the only thing which we have before our eyes from day to day. But if we take care of our health as a part of integrated life and so fashion our daily routine, our food, amusement, or sleep and rest, it will not be necessary for anyone to seek the help of a medical man and when I hear our Ministers complaining that in the country we have too few hospitals, too few beds and too few doctors and nurses, I wonder whether the aim is to fill the country with men of ill health so that we may provide doctors for everyone. The object on the other hand, ought to be to have a country where illness will be an exception and where doctors will be required only occasionally, once in a way as a sort of exceptional requirement.

My own idea about Ayurveda, which I must confess is not based on any study of it, is that it looks upon human life as one integrated thing and tries to so fashion it from the time of the conception, from the time when the child is in its mother's womb, right upto the time when this body remains no longer a live body and has to be consigned to the flames. It is because it aims at a study of the whole life and it aims at keeping it in good condition—physically as well as morally and spiritually and because it lays emphasis on these three aspects of human life, it claims rightly to have the title of the

Speech made while inaugurating the Ayurvedic Research Institute, Trivandrum, August 14, 1957.

science of life. Unfortunately, for some centuries now it has fallen on evil days and it has been subjected, I must say rather cruelly, to treatment which it did not deserve.

It is indeed said that Ayurveda is not keeping abreast with the scientific improvement and knowledge. It must be confessed that the charge is not altogether unfounded. It must also be said that that is because it does not get the encouragement and patronage which alone make research and treatment possible. I must say that there are two classes of people and both have their duty to perform. Science does not consist in rejecting anything without knowing it, without studying it. On the other hand, science does not also consist in accepting everything and anything simply because it has been said by someone or other. There should be really a combination of the two. Whereas, all our modern physicians should acquire knowledge of modern science, they should look upon Ayurveda also with a certain amount of sympathy and, if I may say so, also with respect. They should not reject it because they do not know it. Your ignorance can never be good or any excuse for rejecting it. You have to understand it, study it and to find out what there is in it which may be of use and which has enabled it in spite of all discouragement and difficulties for centuries and which enables it even today to cater to the requirements and needs of millions and millions of the people of this country.

On the other hand, those who are devoted to Ayurveda should also feel the absolute necessity of moving with the times. In fact, they should realise that it is impossible to make any progress unless they make themselves acquainted with the latest discovery of science and for that purpose they have to understand the modern system and see where they can adapt themselves to it or adapt the system to their own. It is only when two-fold efforts are made that we can really hope to have better research and revitalisation of Ayurveda in the country.

I am glad to know that here in Kerala, you are proceeding on that line. I have noticed that in this state, you have got a number of hospitals with beds attached to them where the treatment is on the Ayurvedic line and besides these hospitals you have also got a large number of hospitals where Allopathic medicines are distributed. In fact, no medical treatment can be tested unless it is tested in the hospital where there are people suffering from various diseases who have to be treated and cured according to the system which is the best. It is, therefore, good that in this state you have quite a large number of hospitals where treatment is given on Ayurvedic line. And you are adding to your credit by establishing a Research Institute which will enable *Vaidyas* to study other systems, to study their own medicines, to study the effect of their own medicines on patients in modern

conditions and environments and where they will also carry on research in regard to new and old drugs on modern lines.

I have felt that one of the greatest difficulties in propagation of the Ayurveda medicines is the fact that you cannot be sure of getting medicine of the right type. I have found that *Vaidays* with great reputation, refuse to prescribe medicines prepared by other *Vaidyas* of the same reputation and prescribe only the medicines which have been prepared by them. It means that a *Vaidya*, if he has to be of any service, has to be not only a good physician but also a good pathologist and so all *Vaidyas* are. It is so because they all proceed with the assumption, which may be correct or which may not be correct, that the medicine prepared by them is genuine and of the right type and correctly prepared. Some medicines are good but some are not of the right type or of the right standard. If your Research Laboratory can help in standardizing the preparation of Ayurvedic medicines, it will have served a good purpose. By the word 'standardize', I do not mean that in Ayurveda standardized medicines are not there. They are there. Prescriptions are given, methods of preparation are given, everything is given there. What I mean is that these methods are followed and right type of drugs are mixed. If standardized medicines could be made available, I have no doubt that Ayurveda will make great strides in this country and I am hoping that these results your Laboratory will be able to achieve.

May I add one thing? As you have already shown the way in having a large number of hospitals run on Ayurvedic line for treatment, will you not also serve as an ideal for other states of the country by concentrating on research which will really be helpful and useful? I wish you to do things which will, if they cannot convert those who are against Ayurveda, at any rate induce them to study it so that they may know that Ayurveda is not useless as they think. Under the modern system, if some new drug is discovered and some preparation is made in some country thousands and thousands of miles away, doctors of other countries in very different climatic conditions where the environment is quite different, readily accept it and doctors in this country do not hesitate to prescribe it. But they are not prepared to accept medicines prepared by *Vaidyas* of experience, which is the accumulated experience of centuries and prepared after experiments conducted more or less in the same conditions. That is because they do not have faith in our system and it is for you to create that faith and I am quite sure once you create that faith, there is no doubt they will accept it, they will accept it as a matter of science because everything that comes out of a scientific approach becomes unquestioned and unquestionable. I do not think you

presume that any experiment that you make will be considered as authoritative as experiments by other systems. That is an object you have to work for and I am quite sure that it is not beyond our research to achieve it.

You are fortunate in getting Government support for this Hospital, College, Research Institute and everything that you are going to do in this respect and I am quite sure you will get more and more help when you require it. I am therefore, very happy to be associated with this morning's function and declare this Institute open.

Alleviating Human Suffering

YOU HAVE DONE me great honour in inviting me to inaugurate the Diamond Jubilee of the Haffkine Institute and I thank you for it. To be associated with such great public utility institution, whose sole aim and purpose is the prevention, cure and eradication of communicable disease and human suffering, is a distinction which I greatly value and heartily appreciate.

This Institute, which bears the name of a celebrated scientist, Dr. Waldemar Haffkine, who founded it sixty years ago, has come to be recognised as one of the leading medical research institutes in the East, if not the world. The growth of the institute from its humble beginnings and the story of its expansion is not only fascinating but inspiring. For much of the subsequent progress made by it one must give credit to the extremely good start that the Institute got. Its founder, Dr. Haffkine, set the pace by his own example in earnestness, unbounded zeal to advance human welfare and general sincerity of purpose. These qualities cast their shadow on the laboratory where Dr. Haffkine worked, infecting all those who worked with him. It could be said that the laboratory set up in 1899 with the set purpose of fighting the scourge of plague which was taking a heavy toll of lives in Bombay, was imbued with the personality of this brilliant bacteriologist. Besides, this Institute was lucky to have inherited the highest traditions in medical research from Dr. Haffkine and through him of Louis Pasteur. It was only in the fitness of things, therefore, that the laboratory came subsequently to be named after its founder as the Haffkine Institute.

Most of you present here know all about the work and life of Dr. Haffkine and certainly you know more than I do about the nature of the

researches and the preventive vaccine, sera and drugs that he was able to prepare as successful remedies against epidemics like plague and cholera and also against snakebite. I will content myself with saying a few words about this great benefactor of humanity and about the work of this Institute which has come to be known after him.

Dr. Haffkine, who had the privilege of working with the world famous Louis Pasteur, approached his task in a truly scientific spirit. There was something in his manner of approach which was reinforced by his own earnestness and extraordinary concern for suffering humanity which makes him appear as a model scientific investigator. He was no doubt a scientist, to be precise, a bacteriologist, yet, his humanitarian approach turned medical research into a mission. As long as he worked, whether in other countries or in India, he continued to draw inspiration from his great mission. On occasions, he carried his dictum of practising before preaching to an extent which some of his colleagues viewed with concern. For example, when he discovered the plague bacillus and prepared the first dose of antiplague vaccine, he insisted on trying it first on himself. He was truly a leader among scientists—a leader destined to blaze a trail. The Institute in which he worked with such devotion and selflessness was bound to grow even after his death by the sheer momentum of the ability and the personality of this great scientist. The world, particularly we in India, owe to Dr. Haffkine a debt of gratitude. He helped to rid India of its major epidemics, plague and cholera.

I can hardly help pointing out that knowledge in all its branches is essentially universal in character. It might have been a coincidence that a scientist born in Russia and trained partly in France happened to be in India where he was assigned the difficult but urgent task of preventing the plague from taking a heavy toll of lives. Though, perhaps it was a coincidence, it serves to illustrate that scientific advance of all types calls for international collaboration for the eradication of disease and human suffering and for the advancement of human happiness is at once a prerequisite and a desideratum of real progress. It is heartening to see that in the realm of medicine, such collaboration has long been in evidence and the world at large has benefited from it. Let us hope modern scientists in other spheres of scientific research will also pool and utilise their knowledge and results of scientific research and discoveries for the benefit of humanity and prevent their use for destructive purposes. Scientists like Dr. Haffkine, who were the standard-bearers in one particular branch of science, have built up the tradition which the modern scientific world can best honour by emulating and imbibing.

It is a great pleasure to go round this Institute and to study its growth through the decades. The Institute has now come to possess about a dozen different departments. Its activities have expanded beyond recognition, but as Dr. Jivraj Mehta has pointed out, there is room for further expansion in order to derive the maximum advantage from the researches conducted here. While offering my tribute of admiration to Dr. Haffkine, who founded this Institute, let me also compliment all those who have been and are today connected with it because the part which the Haffkine Institute has played in fighting disease, not only in this country but also in some other lands, is without doubt remarkably commendable.

I extend a hearty welcome to all those scientists who have come here to participate in the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Haffkine Institute from other countries. Their presence here today is itself a tribute to the memory of a great scientist and recognition of the very valuable and beneficent work which this Institute has been doing for the past sixty years. With the support which it has been getting and is going to get in an increasing measure, its activities and field of service are sure to expand. I trust that the hopes inspired by its past will be more than fulfilled by its future.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Haffkine Institute, Bombay.

Science and Social Responsibility

I AM VERY happy to have come here to inaugurate the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Institute of Science in response to your kind invitation, for which I thank you. I am sorry however, that our rejoicings should be marred by the sudden and premature death of Shri Vithal Chandravarkar, the Chairman of the Executive Council, who had been rendering conspicuous services in various fields of public activity not the least of which were educational institutions like yours. I am sure you will join me in offering our sympathies to his family.

The Golden Jubilee of your Institute has fallen significantly at a time when the atmosphere in our country is surcharged with science and the various aspects and problems of its progress. I refer to the Science Congress held in Delhi last month, which concluded its session only a few days ago. It is no more than a coincidence, but chronologically and from the point of view of the spread of scientific knowledge in this country, this coincidence is not without significance. It has incidentally given us the opportunity of

welcoming to our celebrations here the leader of the British delegation to the Science Congress, H. R. H. Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh.

Thanks to the wisdom and foresight of the late J. N. Tata, this great Institute for the encouragement of higher study and researches in science and technology was founded at a very appropriate time. Today, when we are on the threshold of a new era of industrialisation and all-round development, we are in a better position to appreciate the solid work done by this Institute, which provides the essential background for our present-day plans. Your great founder foresaw the requirements of India more than sixty-years ago. In every sense of the term, he was a pioneer whose patriotism and love of knowledge created, for the benefit of the coming generations in this country a fountainhead of technology and technical experts. But for Shri J. N. Tata's munificence, generously aided and supported by the Government of India and the then Government of Mysore, and timely action in providing for this Institute towards the close of the last century for aught I know, we might have felt handicapped today in our developmental programme and expansion schemes. Its growth within the last fifty years or so has been phenomenal. Starting in a small way with 24 students and six professors, it has now grown into a big institution with 157 teachers and nearly five hundred students and research workers. The expenditure both on buildings and equipment exceeds Rs. 1.5 crores and the recurring expenditure has reached nearly Rs. 67 lakhs a year. The work turned out both in shape of research and capable scientists, engineers and technicians of various types has recorded a corresponding progress.

From its very inception, the Indian Institute of Science has been recognised in the world of science as an important centre of research. Its early associations with the Royal Society of London, one of whose members was appointed its first Director, have also been of considerable advantage to the Institute. Subsequently, the post of Director has been held by distinguished scientists like Dr. C. V. Raman, the late Dr. J. C. Ghosh and others. The impact of the advanced studies carried on here and the researches done in the Institute has been felt in many fields and departments of science. It is a record of which the Institute as also our country may well feel proud. I would like to take this opportunity to offer my congratulations to the House of Tatas through whose munificence the Institute came into existence and also to all those who are or have been connected with this Institute in any capacity.

There can be no doubt that the material progress, which follow in the wake of new discoveries and inventions, is the direct outcome of the advances made in scientific knowledge. I wish it were possible to speak of

this progress without having to qualify the statement. Unfortunately, scientific inventions have come to have a double edge. They are not only a source of material development but have also become potential means of destruction. While it took many decades for the human society to take full advantage of scientific knowledge, inventions like atom and hydrogen bombs and ballistic missiles can make short work of human existence far more quickly.

From this situation has arisen the dilemma of the progress of science. If science and its votaries go on pursuing their researches and improving on the destructive weapons already produced, what can be the future of humanity? In other words, can science be called a blessing without recognising its social obligations and moral principles? The urgency of the situation has made the whole world conscious of the need of tempering scientific progress with spiritual or moral values. It sounds ironical, but it is an undeniable fact that our material progress based on science has done more than any other factor so far known in our history to push moral principles to the fore. I hope, however, that our scientists and scientific institutions will not be tempted to divert their attention from serving constructive purposes to the sinister service of destruction.

I would not like to end on a note of pessimism. My faith in spiritual values, no less than that in the future of mankind, sustains me in the belief that ultimately we shall succeed in getting the better of the situation. Spiritual values are bound to assert themselves and, let us hope with Bertrand Russell that, "gleams of sanity may yet shine" on the minds of statesmen and world leaders.

I am not sure if what I have said about the dilemma of science was not a digression. I do feel, however, that human safety and happiness are overriding considerations. It is the *summum bonum* of all human effort. That is the ultimate end and everything else has to be reckoned as means to achieve this end. Therefore, if any of man's achievements threatens to destroy the end itself, human society must take cognisance of it and make every effort to avert such a catastrophe. It is now recognised on all hands that today the world finds itself face to face with such a situation. Every thinking man has, therefore, a right not only to advert to this all-important question but also to suggest a way out as far as he can.

I am glad to know that the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore has decided to confer Honorary Fellowship on our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. M. Visvesvaraya and Dr. C. V. Raman. As Visitor of the Institute, I have great pleasure in approving this proposal and congratulating all the three eminent personages in advance.

On the happy occasion of its Golden Jubilee, once again I offer my felicitations to the Indian Institute of Science and wish it a still brighter future not only in the interest of science but also for the happiness and prosperity of the Nation and the world at large.

With these words I have pleasure in inaugurating the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Institute of Science.

Preventive Medicine as Important as Curative Drugs

IT IS A matter of gratification that this State is forging ahead with schemes for provision of medical relief, sanitation and other necessary services. In a vast country like India, with a large population, much of it ill-nourished and with ill health, it is more or less inevitable and necessary consequence. We are therefore, trying our best to tackle this question from both ends. While on the one side efforts are being made to improve the living conditions, to raise the general living standard of our people which will include also improvement in their health, on the other side attempts are being made to provide medical facilities and service on as large a scale as we can possibly do in our present conditions. I am therefore, happy to learn that in this State you have made good progress already and that deficiencies in the various services are being made good very quickly.

In modern medicine for diagnosis, pathological laboratories and also for electric treatment various kinds of sera are an absolute necessity. It is found by experience that there are several diseases which can be controlled. They have been controlled in other countries and to the extent we have been able to use old methods and facilities, we have been able to control them in our country too. It is, therefore, essential that each should have all the necessary equipment for the purpose of supplying the drugs, the sera and the vaccines which are required for the purpose.

I know that in some States we have got up-to-date and very good laboratories which are doing this work but as they are not sufficient for this country, you are going in for more by expanding the laboratory here as well as by establishing regional laboratories.

In modern days, everyone who goes to a doctor finds that a doctor by himself is not able to diagnose his illness. He needs the help and assistance

of a laboratory and each laboratory requires scientific instruments and other kinds of equipments besides a staff of trained men. Unless all these are provided, the medical facilities cannot be said to be complete and however good, efficient and experienced a doctor may be, he will very often find himself more or less helpless in the absence of all these facilities. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that these facilities should be provided and both for the purposes of preparing sera and vaccines and things of that sort which are required for preventive purposes as well as for curative purposes we should have large-scale manufacturing laboratories. I am glad to learn that you will become self-sufficient in these respects in a short time and once you become self-sufficient, you will not have to look to other states for supply of all these materials.

But, as you have said, you are also deficient in supply of trained personnel. That has also to be provided and I am glad you are opening new colleges and institutions where young people may be trained. It will, as the Chief Minister has pointed out, take a little time to get these men in their proper places. The medical studies themselves are somewhat prolonged, taking not less than 5 or 6 years in a college and mere study in a college is not sufficient to make a very efficient doctor. He requires more than that and that can come only through experience. So it will take a few years before you are able to have good and efficient personnel in all your hospitals and dispensaries. But when we are engaged in large-scale reconstruction of the country, this kind of delay is inevitable and all that I can say is that we should be alert and on the lookout for deficiencies to make good so that before the evil effects of such deficiencies become apparent, we are in a position to meet them.

In this country we have been able to control many bad diseases. I believe plague has been very largely controlled and I remember the days more than 50 years ago when plague appeared for the first time in this country and the panic it created. For many years after that it continued to take a large toll of life in this country. But now we do not hear of plague epidemic. I think that has been brought under control, I believe, largely by some kind of vaccination. Malaria is on a fair way to being controlled. That of course is not by injections but by some other means by some kind of treatment, widespread prevention and destruction of mosquitoes which carry the disease. Similarly, I believe cholera also, whenever it breaks out or shows signs of breaking out, can be controlled and very often brought under control in good time before it can take a very heavy toll of lives. I believe there is a very serious attempt being made to bring even T.B. under control and similarly, we have got other diseases which are being controlled.

Apart from the kind of preventive and curative treatment, our hospitals on a very large scale are catering for the cure of people who fall ill, who are taken seriously ill on account of some disease or other and in these hospitals as well as in other places curative medicine is very largely used, much of which is still imported. Some of it is being prepared in this country. But an attempt is being made in this country now to establish large factories for the purpose of preparing and manufacturing the latest type of drugs which are now in very common use although they have come into use during the last few years and crores of rupees, which we have now to spend on importing these and for which we have to depend upon other countries will be saved, and I hope in not distant future we shall be able to produce all these drugs in our own country.

But it is not enough to have factories and laboratories. These factories and laboratories which deal in such things require a constant research for indicating improvement—it will not be correct to say day to day, but I should say hour to hour and unless we have got a very efficient body of research workers engaged in research of these drugs in all these laboratories, they will very soon prove to be out of date and many things which we begin to manufacture will have become out of date by the time our first samples are ready. Therefore, in order to be able to keep pace with the progress of all these things in other parts of the world we require a very efficient body of research workers who will keep our knowledge, practical knowledge, up-to-date and whose knowledge will be available not only for improving things which we manufacture in our country but perhaps for adding to the knowledge of the world, because during the last 10 or 15 years and also during the last war many drugs were discovered which have become so very common and these, I believe, are being improved from day to day. One brand is prepared today and tomorrow some better brand is prepared and then comes into use. We cannot afford to lag behind. I would, therefore, suggest that in this laboratory of yours you will also encourage research work so that while we have still to go on manufacturing what we require, we can also go on adding to the knowledge and to the manufacturing skill of those who are engaged in this so that we may go on producing better and better stuffs. I have no doubt that with the enthusiasm of our young people and the capacity they show in such matters, if they get necessary encouragement, we shall be able not only to meet our requirements but also to send our products to those parts of the world where they are needed.

I am happy, therefore, to be able to associate myself with the opening of this laboratory and I thank the organisers who have enabled me to come here and participate in the function.

Science and Human Security

I HAVE HAD the good fortune of being the speaking guest of several universities on the occasion of their convocations but this is the first time that I have been invited by a purely technical university like yours which confines its activities to imparting theoretical and practical knowledge of science and technology. I welcome this opportunity of addressing the teaching staff and students of this university and to tell them what a layman like myself, who can at best be said to be familiar only with elements of science, thinks of the present-day scientific and technological developments.

Scientific discoveries hold the same magical charm for human imagination today as they did in the days of Archimedes and, I am sure, the lure of "Eureka" has not lost any of its significance. It is surprising that though every successive discovery has resulted in extending the bounds of human knowledge, every addition to that fund of knowledge as a result of fresh inventions or discoveries thrills man as ever before and whets man's curiosity and hunger for knowing more of the mysteries of Nature. One fancies that this game of hide and seek, as it were, between man and nature will continue endlessly. Man will never cease unfolding one after another the layers of nature, and nature, on the other hand, can be depended upon to keep man always at bay and never let him be in possession of the whole truth.

May be, some thinking people welcome it as a guarantee of the continuity of the stream of life, for it seems ignorance and uncertainty, no less than knowledge and certitude, are essential conditions of human progress. If the whole truth of the mystery of life were to come before us in a flash, I am afraid we shall have been left with nothing to do and think about and that would certainly be the end of all progress, if not of all existence. Such a contingency, however, is too remote to be feared. Man may, therefore, keep on plying the job of unfolding the seams as fast or as well as he can.

I wish this process of human labour resulting in new discoveries and the resultant widening of the limits of knowledge were always as simple and pleasant as it sounds. It is, in fact, a matter capable of being of the gravest concern to all living beings, because scientific knowledge has already given sufficient power to man to annihilate practically the whole planet which he inhabits. This is also a power which if turned to good advantage can equally truly prove to be an alchemy beyond man's wildest imagination. From this dual capacity of scientific discoveries has sprung a dilemma.

Thus, while progress of science and technology is welcomed on all hands, at the same time there is nothing that humanity dreads so much as this progress itself. The very advance in knowledge which ought to ensure betterment of man's lot has become a threat to his existence. This dilemma of science versus security has posed a problem which must be solved in the interest of sheer self-preservation.

I am afraid, by stating this problem I may be provoking some scientists to say that their duty is only to pursue scientific researches and that if their successful efforts are used for destructive purposes, the responsibility is that of the politician and not theirs. Howsoever unpalatable this proposition may sound, I cannot, in fairness deny its truth. There is no doubt that political ambition has led nations to utilise for destructive purposes the capacity of science in the mistaken belief that having once got at the top they can stop the wheel before it completes a full circle.

While deep faith has been exhibited in physical science and its forces, it is a pity that other laws and forces which are no less natural and which are operating in the human mind and also man's nobler instincts are apt to be overlooked and ignored. Consequently, human society has got involved in an inherent contradiction out of which it is finding it hard to extricate itself. Nature has given its clear warning that mankind must pause and think before making use of this dangerous patrimony. It is a warning which has already registered itself in man's mind and he has begun to appreciate its implications. Never before had this been realised so clearly as now when it is seen that unbridled use of the weapons of destruction can lead only to one result, namely, complete destruction and obliteration of human civilization as we know it.

Luckily there have of late been indications of the dawn of a new sense of values. If it is realised now that in the interest of sheer self-preservation man must put a stop to warfare and do all that is possible to avoid another conflagration in which the latest weapons of war may have to be used. Science and scientific knowledge are good in themselves, but their use and actual application in human affairs must be guided by the laws of nature based on overriding moral or spiritual principles. That is the only guarantee of continued existence and the continuity of human life and civilization on this planet.

I hope what I have given is the layman's reaction to current developments, specially to the latest scientific and technological inventions and discoveries. One can be sure, however, that it is not his intention that we should cry halt to scientific researches. The pursuit of these subjects has to be encouraged. The fruit of the scientists' researches should be utilised for the good not only of mankind but of all living beings.

It appears to me that the problem today is mainly psychological or educational. We have to educate the human mind in the value of peace and against the disadvantages of over-ambitiousness. We must develop an attitude so that we can bring this view to bear on human, national and international relations. I admit that it may call for certain fundamental changes in the school curricula, if not in the very concepts on which the various systems of education are based. We must assiduously inculcate virtues which will strengthen man's faith in peace, avoidance of aggression and what may be called the will to co-exist.

However, it is for the educationist or the moralist to consider how best the human mind can be trained to reach favourably to constructive efforts for peace and goodwill and unfavourably to destructive wars and conflicts. Meanwhile, men like you in this university, dedicated to the service of science and technology, must continue to pursue these subjects with utmost diligence. It is the outcome of your efforts which holds the key to the present-day problems of ignorance and misery, of scarcity though in some places there may be plenty, and of disease and ill-health. It is going to be the fruits of your efforts which the Nation will hail as the harbingers of the long awaited and much dreamt of prosperity. You know what a big country India is. You know all about its rising population. You also know about its resources, tapped and untapped. Well directed exploitation of our resources alone can help us to bring about those conditions of well being which every Indian citizen has a reason to expect and which those holding the reins of power are keen to create. As scientists and technologists, you are no less than the sinews of the Nation.

This university has developed out of an engineering college which has been one of the best known in the country for more than a century. When the question of establishing a university of engineering and technology came up, there were no two opinions about the suitability of Roorkee as its site. This place from where you can have a detached view of the majestic Himalayas has good many redeeming features. It is a small town, free from the din and buzz of bigger places. Again, I take it, it has healthy climate all the year round. But more than anything else, it has a fascinating rural setting. Let me hope these features have commended themselves to you and are helping you in concentrating on the important work that you all do here.

Ever since the foundation of this university, it has been receiving encouragement and financial aid from the Government to enable it to expand its activities. The latest proposals envisage a very large layout on technical and engineering departments in the various fields of technology. It naturally enhances the scope of service, but also the responsibility of those associated

with this institution to fulfil the high hopes of them. I have no doubt that the Roorkee University—its teachers and students—are conscious of this and will make their contribution to the success of the contemplated schemes.

May I address a word of advice and caution to the students who have qualified themselves and are going out to the larger world? Please carry with you a keen sense of honour and responsibility which you owe to this university and to your teachers and above all, to those moral and spiritual values which alone can help you to keep your heads high and above all temptations which beset men in this world and to which most unfortunately, not a few succumb in moments of weakness. It is my hope and prayer that each of you will ever in your life so conduct yourself as to do credit to yourself and to your Alma Mater.

I am grateful to you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and to your colleagues in the Senate for your generosity in conferring upon me the Degree of Doctor of Science *honoris causa* which I value very highly.

Indian Science Congress

IT IS A matter of great pleasure and indeed privilege for me to have been asked to inaugurate this session of the Indian Science Congress, even though I know that rightly this office belongs to our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been associating himself with this organisation in this capacity for some time. I cannot claim to know what prompted the organisers of this congress to invite me to inaugurate this session, but I have no hesitation in saying that, for my part, the acceptance of your invitation has no basis either in any academic distinctions in science or research in any of its branches. However, like anyone else, I am deeply interested in science, its rapid progress and its all-pervading influence in modern times, and perhaps that is good enough to entitle one to at least some kind of formal association with this body of celebrated scientists.

It is no doubt true that for its onward march science has had to, as it ever will, depend on the labours of scientists, but it is no less true that the effect of scientific discoveries is universal in character, that is to say, no living person can fail to be influenced by them. These the most striking thing is that many a devoted scientist has felt compelled to peep out and predicate a world distinct from that of matter. This has provided some common ground for the scientist and the philosopher. In any case, the conviction is growing that science and philosophy, far from being opposed to each other, are in actual fact complementary to each other.

I am afraid this has been a digression. What I intended to say is that in the world of knowledge the old and the new seem to belong to different strata. There are no doubt gems of wisdom in old knowledge but one has to wade through layers of mist and a pall of haziness in order to reach them. In science, experiment has largely taken the place of intuition and accuracy has replaced conjecture. This change may be hailed as the harbinger of the modern outlook. The new attitude symbolising this outlook came with the scientific spirit of enquiry and taking nothing for granted.

Thanks to this attitude and the unremitting efforts of scientists, the bounds of human knowledge are far wider and more extensive today than they were ever before. We know much more today than ever before about the essential facts of life and the recent inventions have brought within the pale of possibility things which could hardly be said to excite human imagination a couple of centuries ago. Annihilation of distance by speedy aerial communications is the most tangible manifestation of this change in the present age, described by some as supersonic. Roving in overseas lands, which once only daring adventurers like Marco Polo or inspired truth-seekers like some of the travellers of olden days could undertake, is now a matter of routine.

Revolutionary though these changes are, the one fact that has made deepest impress on human conscience is the invention of deadly weapons of war. It is the invention of missiles and atom and hydrogen bombs which holds today the human race in awe. So far as the destructive capacity of these weapons is concerned, they are capable of holding humanity at bay; and as for the potentialities of these inventions in terms of power, they promise a real El Dorado for the whole mankind. The fact of the scientific discoveries being double-edged is the most important aspect of the advance in human knowledge. And thereby hangs a moral which man can ignore at his own peril. I would like to call it the paradox of knowledge. The power that man has acquired through scientific discoveries for harnessing the forces of Nature is so stupendous that its wrong use can make a short shrift of the whole race of inventors. Yet it is difficult to imagine how such a catastrophe can be avoided if the traditional reliance on violence and aggression as the sole arbiter of national and international disputes continues to hold the field. Our knowledge has, therefore, posed a challenge to our traditional ways of thinking and age-old modes of living. We shall have to eschew the use of force or, in other words, war itself, if we want to steer safe of these weapons and the chain reaction their use will set in, which is bound to sound the death-knell of human civilisation, if not the planet on which it flourishes.

When one thinks of all this and tries to take stock of the strides that science has taken in the present century resulting in unprecedented material progress, a sense of peculiar helplessness creeps over us. Without developing some other faculty which may ensure for us that these inventions will always be used for the good of man, we may well feel that the world could be a better place to live in without these advancements. We are faced with a dilemma which boils down to this simple question: Is the modern man's scientific knowledge to be his, incubus or a blessing helping him to lead a happier and fuller life. It is clear to all that the only way to harness the discoveries of science, into the service of man is by developing a sense of values, call it moral or religious or spiritual. Without it all this advance and the consequent material progress, howsoever good in itself, will ever continue to hold before us the threat of extermination.

The stress on the material or spiritual values may have differed from time to time but the relationship between material and spiritual principles are chronologically as old as human thinking. Among the foremost present-day protagonists of the spiritual principle are included some of the most celebrated scientists. Developing a spiritual outlook is therefore, not merely an expedient but also in keeping with the highest ideals. Whatever one might think of the potentialities of scientific knowledge or of scientists straying into the field of morality or spiritualism, it should be conceded that there is no inherent incompatibility between science and moral values. Both of them are two different aspects of the same reality. They are not only not mutually exclusive but largely interdependent and complementary. May I, as a firm believer in the moral and spiritual values, say that even for this realisation the world owes a debt of gratitude to science?

Having brought moral values, though indirectly, into new focus, let us hope science will forge powerful sanctions in support of this aspect of knowledge and experience. The world looks to science for the conquest of want and eradication of human suffering. Let us hope the new knowledge man has acquired will bring the promised Kingdom of heaven on earth. May science continue to serve mankind by removing the cobwebs of ignorance and misery from the world and may its inventions ever remain a blessing for all living beings, is my hope and prayer.

Friends, it has given me great pleasure to meet all of you here and to have got this opportunity of saying a few words to you. I wish your deliberations to be successful in the promotion of science and the scientific outlook in this country and elsewhere.

I have great pleasure in declaring this 48th session of the Indian Science Congress open.

MISCELLANEOUS

Sadhus and Modern Society

I AM so glad to have been able to take part in this conference of the Bharat Sadhu Samaj and to meet you all. This organisation is hardly two years old. It is gratifying that within this short period the Sadhu Samaj has set up branches in several States and I hope it will soon be able to have its branches in the remaining States as well.

The aims and objects with which the Sadhu Samaj was established are of such pressing nature that for their fulfilment the Nation expects full co-operation from every individual and every institution. Our venture in the field of reconstruction is essentially collective, I should say, in every sense national. Therefore, I felt very happy when you reacted enthusiastically to the proposal to form an organisation of the Sadhus with a view to lending co-operation to Government in its nation-building activities.

You are a thinking and conscientious class. You need hardly be told that there is an intimate relationship between the world we live in and *parlok*, the world we strive for. It is not possible to achieve anything in the other world without setting things in order in this world and doing all that is possible for the happiness of the human society. As far as I know, our scriptures do not enjoin indifference towards this world. The great Indian seers have suggested ways and means of carrying on in life realistically with full sense of duty but in an attitude of non-attachment. This good advice is most timely today. I think people like you who have taken to the saintly way of life, should come forward for guiding the people in worldly matters as well.

The world has made great progress from the materialistic point of view. Indeed the rate of this progress has been lately so rapid that man has begun to feel he has already had too much of it. Scientific advance has brought humanity to the cross-roads of destiny, from where branch off the roads to true happiness and to total destruction. The influence of materialism has created doubts in man's mind, making it difficult for him to differentiate between these two roads. Man can know the path of true happiness only

when he comes to recognise spiritual values and when he realises that material prosperity is not the be-all and end-all of life. Who can help the Indian people more in this task than the sadhus who should be practising the spiritual way of life as a matter of voluntary undertaking? You can certainly enlighten others by your own example. The time has come when you should take it upon yourself to help the common people in leading a life of morality. In this lies the good not only of India but of humanity.

Our people in ancient times were known for their moderation and equanimity. They did not neglect the spiritual aspect of life in the face of the attractions of material prosperity; nor did they ignore worldly life in order to administer to their spiritual needs. They aimed at evolving a synthesis of these two aspects of life, and in their efforts they were not altogether unsuccessful. We have to revive that sense of harmony and synthesis so that we may build a prosperous India and at the same time raise the moral standard of our people. Today materialism seems to depend for its survival on the support of spiritualism. By lending their co-operation in the achievement of this task of blending the two forces together, the sadhus can certainly help themselves and the country, if not the world at large.

Happy as I am to be able to greet you today, I would also like to avail of this opportunity to give you some advice informally. In the present-day conditions no individual or group of individuals can afford to ignore public opinion. That is why criticism is no longer looked upon as necessarily opprobrious. We often hear criticism of the sadhus these days as of other classes. Now that fortunately you have organised yourselves, I think it is your duty to consider that criticism impartially with a view to removing its basis if any, or putting the critics wise as regards the real position. I believe that is the way to restore for sadhus the respect which is their due and to make their Samaj a useful limb of the Indian society.

You could not be unaware of the view held in certain quarters that the country derives no real benefit from the sadhus and therefore their order should be suppressed by legislation or with the force of social opinion. I am not in a position to say anything about this view, but I must emphasise that any wing of the society which has outlived its utility and which leads a mere parasitic existence, is bound to disappear sooner or later. The fact that such questions have been raised and there is criticism of this kind should be taken by you as a grim warning not to be ignored.

It is indeed lucky that you have now got an opportunity to demonstrate your utility and, thereby, give a fitting reply to your critics.

Along with economic uplift, signs of social and moral revival are visible all over the country today. This is the dawn of a new era in India after centuries. You still wield considerable influence with the common people. Therefore, you can strengthen these welcome trends and give support to this awakening in your day-to-day contacts with the people. It was primarily with this object in view that the Sadhu Samaj was founded, and I am glad you have taken in hand this important work of reconstruction and improving the social fabric of the country in right earnest. It is my desire that the Sadhu Samaj should be so well and effectively organised that in the field of raising the moral level of our people it comes to occupy the same place in our body-politic which our engineers and technologists occupy in the sphere of building dams and setting up heavy industries. There is nothing impracticable in this desire. No one can deny the force of ideas and the capacity of public opinion these days. I think you are well-equipped to harness these to the country's good. I would, therefore, respectfully insist that you organise yourselves properly and through your contacts and planned work become the torch-bearers of the message of the new age.

There has been some criticism of late of the management of the temples and mathas and the property attached to them. All this property is essentially a religious trust entrusted to the sadhus for management. People expect that these endowments will be utilised in the service of the people in advancing the cause of religion and that in no case will they be abused or spent for unauthorised purposes. These religious trusts should not be looked upon by anyone as personal property. It should not be difficult for you to manage these trusts in a way that such criticism loses its validity. This will not only ensure the best possible use of our religious endowments but also stop the frittering away of these resources through improper use.

Whatever the mode of service which you adopt, it is absolutely essential that you lead an exemplary life and your activities are of such a nature that they inspire the respect of your critics and the devotion of those who respect you. In this lies the success of the sadhus and their organisation, the Sadhu Samaj.

I hope the sadhus will come out successful in this test which faces them and that the Sadhu Samaj will be rendering a valuable service to the country. I wish you all luck and have great pleasure in inaugurating this conference.

Moral Aspect of Eating

I EXTEND TO you, ladies and gentlemen, who have come from long distances to attend this Vegetarian Conference, a hearty welcome. I see before me a gathering of convinced and confirmed vegetarians. Vegetarianism as a movement has been going on in Europe for a long time and Mahatma Gandhi in his Experiments with Truth mentions a number of books proving the superiority of vegetarian food from different points of view. He also mentions a Vegetarian Society in London of which he was an active member during his student days, in the early nineties of the last century. It is, therefore, not surprising that a Conference of this nature should have been held in some countries of Europe.

You have had previous sessions of the Vegetarian Conference in other countries, but India has certain characteristics which are her own. I do not think there is any other country where people in such large numbers are vegetarians and have been abstaining from meat diet for generations. That has been so because meat diet has been regarded as unsuitable, if not harmful, to spiritual growth, and our scriptures have laid down rules regulating food. These rules are based essentially on an appreciation of the laws of non-violence or *ahimsa*, that is, avoiding harm to all, not only living creatures, but plants, etc. also. All our ancient sciences and shastras look upon life as an integrated whole and co-ordinate different activities in such a way as to fit in with and help in the upward growth of man. We have thus, no double standards nor artificial division in our activities such as we sometimes hear made by some people. For example, it is common enough to hear that a man's religion is his own affair and has nothing to do with his politics. Similarly, his life and politics are two different things, and what he eats, how he lives and carries on his other private affairs have nothing to do with his public activities. We, as a matter of fact, believe that each activity has its repercussions on other activities and we cannot divide either the activities or their effects. It is on this basis that food is sought to be so related as to create that kind of calm and unperturbed mind, which in its turn may devote itself to private or public functions to spiritual no less than to mundane affairs.

When I say all this, I do not claim that as a people we are living up to these ideals. If we did, the country and our people would be something very different from what they are, and yet it is some of these which have enabled us to survive trials and vicissitudes which few other nations or people have faced as we have had to do in history. If we analyse the

factors the fundamental thing as I have said above, is non-violence, which in its active and positive form means active love for others, and in its passive form means tolerance for others. In other words, while on the one hand we believe in doing active good, on the other, we believe in allowing others to live their own lives, to have their own thoughts and to talk in their own way and freely. This tolerance has been a characteristic faith of our people and has in fact been the mother of all our metaphysical and philosophical thought, and the growth side by side of different religions within the country. It was not a mere accident but a logical result of our thought processes that at a time when animal sacrifices were insisted upon by the predominant school of thought, Buddhism with its philosophical insistence on non-violence, and Jainism with its practical application in the most meticulous and in some respects extreme form, arose in this country. It was again not an accident but equally a logical process that Christianity, since its early days when it had no political significance, and later on Zoroastrianism found a hospitable atmosphere and field to flourish in this country. Islam, with all its conquering zeal, became tamed in India, and the conquests by its saints became as significant as, if not more than, the conquests of the Muslim conquerors and rulers. And today we have got a composite culture in which so many elements have contributed to make a mosaic of a most beautiful and variegated pattern of society.

Vegetarianism, therefore, in India has always been a semi-religious social feature of our life and not merely expressive only of dietetic theories or economic necessity, although results in these respects have also flowed from it. It is, therefore, not surprising that there are so many castes and communities which have been vegetarian for generations, no member of which has ever touched or tasted meat derived from any slaughtered animal, big or small. When I say this, I should not be misunderstood as claiming that India as a whole is vegetarian or that even a majority of its population is vegetarian. It is only some Hindu castes and communities who are vegetarian as such. The Muslims, the Christians, the Parsis, the Sikhs, and even the Buddhists are not vegetarians as a community; that is to say, meat eating is not socially prohibited amongst them, which is the case with the other communities mentioned above. But in another sense, a large majority is vegetarian, not in the sense that it does not or cannot eat meat but because it does not get it or cannot afford it. It is only a small proportion of our population who are regular meat-eaters. Even among these, vegetables, cereals and fruits constitute a larger proportion of their daily fare in this country than in other countries.

It may also be stated that we have our peculiar ideas—call them prejudices if you like—about some of these matters. Even those who eat

meat are not permitted to take all kinds of meat, but have limitations put on their choice of meat either by restricting the animals the flesh of which may be eaten or by restricting the time and the number of days in the year when it may or may not be taken, and curiously enough, even by the method by which an animal intended for food is to be slaughtered. Thus, there are certain animals which differ from community to community the flesh of which may not be eaten and must be eschewed. There are some days or some occasions on which meat may not be eaten and there are restrictions on the way in which, and the occasion on which an animal may be slaughtered and its flesh eaten. So far as the Hindus are concerned, all these restrictions and inhibitions are based more or less on a recognition of the weakness of man's palate on the value of abstention and on the necessity of restricting the use as much and in as many ways as possible. No wonder therefore, that whether as a matter of tradition or family custom, personal belief or communal regulation, or whether as a result of economic factors or appreciation of the value of non-meat diet for healthy growth of body, mind and soul, we have a considerable proportion of our population which completely abstains from meat, and a very much larger proportion which indulges in meat diet occasionally and on particular occasions. I may also note, for the information of foreigners who may not be acquainted with our customs, that, generally speaking, in India we do not regard milk and milk products as non-vegetarian food. On the other hand, eggs, even non-fertile eggs, are regarded as non-vegetarian food in orthodox circles.

All these considerations have combined to produce a society in India which in the matter of food differs in this respect from other countries. Whether it was considered a valid argument or not, in the olden days when *ahimsa* and the effect of the food on human nature were emphasized in eschewing animal food, our present-day economic situation fits in very well with our traditional mode of living. Our population is large and is growing tremendously at the rate of 4 to 5 millions per year. The quantity of land is limited and cannot be increased even by an inch. The uncultivated portion may be brought under cultivation, but there is no doubt that within the foreseeable future, it will be impossible to increase the land under cultivation. Increase in yield per unit of land has also conceivably a limit. We have, therefore, to consider whether cereals or meat can be more economically grown on the land. In countries where vast areas are still available and grazing grounds extend far and wide animals may be bred for meat purposes. "The generally accepted computation is that 2.5 acres of land are required to provide a minimum adequate diet for each person, by western standards, anyhow. On a vegetarian diet it has been estimated that 1.5 acres per head may provide enough. The reason for this difference is that animals grazed

for meat-eating purposes require from 9 to 15 times more land than is necessary to raise an equivalent amount of nutrition in the form of grains, vegetables and fruit for human consumption." This is the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Richard B. Gregg, an American on a study of the literature on the subject. It is therefore, a very lucky and fortunate coincidence that our vegetarianism, limited though it may be, reduces tremendously the pressure on land which is already being felt in many parts of the country.

It is not for a vegetarian to claim that his food can produce better men and women than meat food. There may be various standards for judging men and it is possible that judged by one standard, meat-eaters are better than vegetarians and vegetarians may be found to be better than meat-eaters if judged by another standard, as for example in the matter of endurance.

But apart from these, there is a fundamental point which has become very relevant in the context of modern conditions and the history of civilization as it has developed during the past few centuries. There can be no doubt that non-violence or the policy of live and let live, is the only policy which can solve most of our troubles and problems. As I have indicated above, in its active form it means readiness to sacrifice one's self, one's comforts and one's ambitions for the sake of others. The alternative is to utilise others to fulfil one's own desires and ambitions. Somehow or other, man has for centuries convinced himself that he is the best and the most evolved of all known creatures and it is, therefore, only right and proper that all other creatures should be made to subserve man and satisfy him. It is this policy or theory which enables us to slaughter without hesitation other living animals either to satisfy our palate or to fill our stomach or to decorate our body or only to give us amusement as in sports.

In times which were considered to be less civilized and when man was only a hunter, he lived more or less like any other wild animal by hunting another animal for his food. As his tastes and desires were limited, he did not destroy as much as the more civilized man of today has to destroy to satisfy his tastes. In those days, although man lived on other animals, he did not breed animals only to be slaughtered as is done today on a tremendously big scale. Millions and millions of animals are bred and fattened only to be slaughtered to supply food and other requirements of man. Medicines too account for the torture and slaughter of numberless animals in various ways, and so, as we have progressed in civilization, respect for life has become less and less. We have now reached a stage when that lessened respect for life is not confined to what are called lower animals, but has come to include human beings; and, therefore, it is a matter of deep concern though

it is more or less a logical result of lessening respect for animal life that respect for human life also has gone down tremendously. That is, if man being superior to another animal can exploit and even slaughter it for his own purposes, the next natural step is that the stronger man or nation should consider it nothing wrong to exploit or even destroy a weaker man or tribe or nation. This is what has happened and what is at the root of all exploitation by the people of one country of the people of another for no reason except that it was necessary to do so to raise the standard of living of the former at the expense of the latter.

Not long ago there used to be restriction on wanton destruction of human life even in war and between warriors of opposing sides. But that idea is now out of date, and today, with the weapons of mass destruction at man's disposal, the human race itself is in imminent danger of being destroyed. It is a far cry from vegetarianism to atomic or hydrogen bomb, but if you look at it, there is no escape from vegetarianism ultimately if we want to escape from the hydrogen bomb. Any integrated view of life as a whole will reveal to us the connection between the individual's food and his behaviour towards others, and through a process of ratiocination which is not fantastic, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that the only means of escaping the hydrogen bomb is to escape that mentality, is to cultivate respect for all life, life in all forms, under all conditions. It is only another name for vegetarianism.

Let me hope that your deliberations in the environment of this country will be fruitful and even India, which at the present moment seems to be rushing headlong on the path followed by the Western nations, will stop awhile and think out afresh the implications and ultimate consequences of her own policies.

The Progress of the Indian Press

I AM VERY glad to have been able to come here to inaugurate this session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in response to your kind and pressing invitation. Your Conference is a representative body of editors of Indian newspapers and I feel happy to have got this opportunity of saying a few words to you.

It is about seven years now that on a similar occasion I addressed your Conference. As I refreshed my memory a few days ago with what I had said on that occasion, I felt that the emphasis I laid then on the twin

Inaugural address at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, Trivandrum, April 30, 1959.

functions of the Press can still bear repetition and a little more analysis. As purveyors of news and guides of the people in helping them form their views on subjects of national importance, newspapers shoulder a responsibility comparable with the highest duty imposed by public service in a democracy. This is a generalization which should hold good of the Press in any enlightened country. There are, however, special circumstances and specific requirements of India at the present moment, in the light of which this responsibility becomes still more grave.

Firstly, we are in the midst of a heavy reconstruction programme. If ever a vast country could mobilise the entire nation for reorientating its economy with a view to enhancing productivity and raising standards of living, we in India have set our hearts on doing it. In doing so, we have hardly left any resource, real or potential, untapped. But with all that, the most essential prerequisite is the will of the people and their co-operation which can come only from popular enthusiasm, from a feeling of purposeful achievement, from the collective urge to progress and improve people's lot, or, in short, from nation-wide awakening. No amount of meticulous planning or husbanding of a nation's resources or launching any number of projects can ensure success unless the people are enthused and all citizens persuaded to contribute their best towards the success of such an effort.

In this task, who can render greater help than the Press? It is not necessarily a question, of pleading with the people or going out of one's way to convince anyone. Dissemination of news regarding our nation-building activities and dispelling of popular ignorance is all that is wanted. We want factual news and its truthful presentation. Nothing in the nature of sensationalism or twisting of facts to fit them into any given pattern is either desired or thought desirable. I am glad to say that by and large the Indian Press is itself inclined to take this view of the presentation of news.

Of equal, if not greater, importance is the other function of the Press, namely, to interpret and comment upon facts and policies. It is here that the question of the freedom of the Press comes in. It will be conceded that the Press in India enjoys a large measure of freedom in the matter of expression of views. Freedom of expression has been guaranteed in our Constitution and in actual practice newspapers, big and small, are often critical of the Government or its policies or the manner in which these policies are sought to be implemented. This criticism is not only tolerated but often responded to or at least appreciated as a sure sign of democratic traditions taking root in the soil of this country. The practice of blacklisting papers which criticise the Administration and its policies is, as it ought to be, regarded as an outmoded idea. It is realised on all hands that if the democratic way of life,

which we adopted after full deliberation, has to flourish in India, well-meaning criticism and divergence of views must be tolerated. I shall go a step further and say that in a democratic State it has even to be encouraged. It is this kind of freedom of expression and the right to criticise Authority which forms an inalienable part of the educative process so essential for making a success of democracy. It is a matter on which I think the Indian Press as a whole would deserve as much credit as those responsible for formulating and giving effect to official policies.

Some times one comes across complimentary accounts of the Indian Administration and the working of democracy in this country in the foreign Press. Newspapers of friendly countries now and then describe India as the bastion of democracy in the East. They are pleased to note with appreciation the fact that however anxious free India may be to reconstruct her economy and to raise her people from the morass of poverty and ignorance, she has ruled out all short-cuts and is determined to follow the path of democracy, howsoever slow or tortuous. Whenever I have come across such complimentary comments from the pen of foreign journalists or observers, I have read them with mixed feelings. While I cannot help feeling happy that we have decided to hitch our wagon of State to democratic ways and that there are some independent people who appreciate our stand, I am also overtaken by a feeling of trepidation born out of keenness to ensure continuity of the present state.

All manner of thoughts come and go when one ponders over this question. Seeing democracy tumbling down as a house of cards in one country after another right in our neighbourhood, it is but natural to feel concerned. Then comes the thought that any misgiving in this regard is groundless not only because we have been able to demonstrate our genuine interest in democracy, sending the world's largest electorate to polls twice in less than 10 years, but also because it is an undeniable fact that the working of democratic institutions in India so far has been very successful. If this chain of thought is correct, the position is creditable and I am sure our Press can also claim considerable credit for this success. Our newspapers have been vigilant and in most cases they have been the guardians of freedom of the individual and the democratic way of living.

The Indian Press has made much headway since Independence. But I am not sure if the progress made by the languages Press has been commensurate with its important role in the country's affairs. The standard of production of the English language Press in India is very high indeed. But these papers have a restricted field of circulation because of the low percentage of English-knowing people. It is the Indian languages which are

spoken and understood by the masses whom we hope to reach only through newspapers published in those languages. I know that the percentage of literacy even in the Indian languages is pretty low. What I am not sure about is whether the improvement in the percentage of literacy in these languages in recent years is reflected in the circulation figures of the Indian languages newspapers. If we want the common people to get news and obtain all that information which is regarded essential for the educative processes of democracy, something has to be done to improve the Indian languages Press so that it can reach as large a number of people as possible. I am sure your Conference can do something to encourage this section of the Press in order to enlarge the leadership of newspapers as a whole in India.

I have touched briefly on the role of the Press in a democratic setup. On the right of free expression which the Press in India enjoys, we all feel happy and only wish that frank and constructive criticism offered by newspapers on the various aspects of public life, including the Administration, will always be motivated by the interests of the Nation and the good of the greatest number. Therefore, the freedom of expression with which we are blessed in this country has to be watched and deserved continuously. That alone can enable a democratic State like ours to meet the challenge of the forces which corrode popular faith in the democratic way of life.

Friends, I need hardly assure you that your labours will always be watched with care and sympathy by an who are interested in the welfare of the country and let me hope that in return you will do all that is possible to uphold the highest traditions of journalism and continue to give to the country noblest examples of public service.

With your permission I would like to add a few more words. As I entered this Hall, I saw a scene which has reminded me of what I had seen just a few days back when I visited countries in South-East Asia. I saw a number of girls standing in national costumes to welcome me. You would be pleased to know that I had the same scene repeated in almost all the countries in South-East Asia which I visited recently where I saw some temples which are still standing and which are monuments of the achievements of our ancestors in those countries. I could not help feeling proud of those ancestors of ours and when I find that those are more or less repetitions of what I find in your place, I only feel proud of you. I therefore, did not require any special pleading and do not deserve any special thanks for having come here to inaugurate this Conference of the Newspaper editors. The mere fact that when I visit this part of the country I come across and have heart to heart talk with some of the people should

have been enough temptation for a man like me to come here and it has been my good fortune that I have had the pleasure of visiting this State for at least half a dozen times during the last 10 years or so and every time have come here, I have gone back with a feeling of admiration, with a feeling of reverence for what I have seen here.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee was good enough to mention in his speech many qualities, many good points which you have. He also mentioned what he considers to be your weak points. Good points we may be knowing. But all of us may not know the weak points and it is well that one of you should remind us of your weak points also. While this reminder may be considered appropriate at this time which considered to be a proper occasion because journalists have assembled here from all corners of the country, I may give you one more information because it specially concerns newspapers.

Mr. Chairman also mentioned in his address the circulation of newspapers in these parts of the country. I may tell you that in some countries newspapers have a circulation which may be considered more or less inconceivable in our country. In Japan there are several papers—daily newspapers which have a circulation of a million to two or three million and in smaller countries too. I heard that there are papers which have large circulation. I cannot give you the numbers.

So this is another temptation for one from the North to see that part of the country where there are so many newspapers many of which have such a large circulation. I thought I might share this information with you and I can only assure you of my great interest in your work and of my best wishes for your success.

St. Thomas

I HAVE HAD the good fortune of participating in this function connected with St. Thomas's Day on some previous occasions also. I have always felt happy to be able to respond to Shri Mathen's kind invitation. It is an occasion when we seek to uplift ourselves by thinking of a great saint, an Apostle who came to India more than 19 hundred years ago and who preached the Tenets of the Christian Faith in this country. According to tradition, St. Thomas is supposed to have stayed here after founding the Christian Church and breathed his last in Mylapore in Madras. Though there may or may not be enough historical evidence to satisfy critical historians, yet

the act of St. Thomas's visit to India and his preaching the Christian Gospel here are above question. Old tradition in our country as also in Syria and Alexandria supports this belief.

It is not historical authenticity that we need look for in order to derive inspiration from the story of St. Thomas. What inspires us and fills with pride the hearts of us all, Christians and others, is the fact that the first Apostle on landing in Malabar found the soil sufficiently congenial and was actually able to settle there and preach the Christian Faith unhindered and unchecked. Not only that, the old tradition itself confirms the fact of tolerance shown towards St. Thomas and the new Faith by the common people, and in some cases, by certain rulers as well. To appreciate fully the significance of this fact, we have to understand the conditions and religious climate prevailing in India at that time. That was the time when Buddhism had been accepted in several parts of India, including the South. Through Emperor Ashoka, this new light had already been transported to Ceylon and the traders and sea-faring people of India had started carrying with them their religious ideas and cultural traditions to overseas lands in Southeast and Central Asia. It would indeed have been amazing if the Indian people had shown intolerance towards the Tenets of the Christian Faith when their own cultures and religions had been welcomed, and subsequently, adopted in so many countries with which they came into contact. Therefore, the traditional story of St. Thomas's visit to India and the material vestiges of Christianity in the South are as much our pride as ancient ruins and monuments scattered throughout the Malayan Archipelago, the dense forests of Cambodia and the vast expanses of Central Asian Steppes. I would go so far as to say that St. Thomas legend as it has come down to us is essentially of a piece of the material which has gone to form India's cultural heritage.

One of the best known characteristics of the people of our country has been to show veneration to saints and prophets of all faith. In spite of internal dissensions now and then, in spite of many a bloody war recorded in history, I would make bold to say that there is something peculiar in the climate of this country which has throughout the ages imbued its people with faith and also sustained that faith, whatever its source or origin. This characteristic was responsible for the rapid spread of Buddhism but at the same time for the upholding of individual's freedom in matters religious so that for generations Buddhism and Hinduism flourished side by side in the same region, in the same house and often under the same roof. For, we know now that when the Krishna valley was at the height of its glory and when Nagarjunakonda had taken the torch of learning from Nalanda, in most cases, males subscribed to the Brahminical Faith while women-folk were ardent Buddhists. The principal chaityas and other Buddhist monuments

in Nagarjunakonda were constructed as a result of the enthusiasm and subscription raised by the queens and other women of Sri Parvat, near Pratisthanpur, the capital of the Satvahanas. It is facts like these which demonstrate human catholicity and the feelings of love and forbearance which impart charm to history and enrich a nation's tradition.

I am glad that the movement to celebrate St. Thomas's Day is gathering momentum every year. It is a pious day for the Christians no doubt, but no less sacrosanct for others, for it was ordained by Providence that India should be a mosaic of faiths and cultures.

History without doubt bears witness to the fact that it has been so and that many a faith and many a culture have intermingled here and sought some kind of synthesis. If, for the moment, we forget the past and look to the present, we find the same panorama of cultures and the same spectrum of religious faiths visible in Indian life. I consider it our most valuable treasure. The Father of modern India impressed it upon us and the grateful nation has embodied it in the Constitution of the Republic of India by guaranteeing to every individual freedom of faith. Let us all be faithful and true to religion by all means, but let harmony and mutual understanding rather than exclusiveness or hostility emanate from that faith. This is the one thought that comes to my mind this day when we are celebrating the landing of St. Thomas on Indian soil. It is indeed a great day in our history. It marks the coming of a great faith into our country and the way in which it was received by the people symbolises the spirit of true religion which the people of this ancient land have always sought to uphold.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for inviting me here to preside over this meeting and thus giving me an opportunity to say a few words on this occasion.

Amir Khusro

I AM GRATEFUL to you for having invited me to participate in the Urs of Hazrat Amir Khusro. There are many reasons why we should honour the memory of this noble soul. Firstly, in his own right he was a great man, who had devoted himself to learning various languages and acquiring knowledge from all available sources from his very childhood. At a time when the Hindus and the Musalmans had not yet come sufficiently close to one another and a wide gulf existed between the two communities. Khusro

with the blessings of his spiritual preceptor. Hazarat Nizamuddin, sought to bring the two communities nearer to each other. It speaks for his foresight and catholicity that before assuming the undertaking Khusro acquainted himself fully with the historical and traditional background of the two faiths, Islam and Hinduism. In addition to Persian and Arabic, Khusro studied Sanskrit and some of the basic scriptural sources of Hinduism. He found that the main cause of the two communities keeping apart from each other was that the two spoke different languages and this retarded social contacts. It was for removing this difficulty that he started experimenting with current tongues and written languages in order to find a common medium of expression. He started writing in the language which was commonly understood in and roundabout Delhi. Khusro's effort was crowned with remarkable success. The language in which he wrote more than 700 years ago may be said to have laid the foundation of modern Hindi and Urdu.

We need not go into the Hindi-Urdu controversy here nor need we discuss the evolution of these languages. The undisputed fact is that Khusro's writings are probably the earliest sample of modern Hindustani or Hindi or Urdu. In his own inimitable way he proceeded to compile a basic vocabulary of commonly understood Persian and Sanskrit words, and using them in the local dialect and proverbs, Khusro invented a style of writing which is universally recognised as the mother of present-day Hindi and Urdu. This is the highest contribution of Amir Khusro to Hindustani and its literature.

Some might reckon that the work which Khusro accomplished in the social field is yet more important than this contribution in the sphere of language and literature. The beginnings of India's composite culture can be traced to Amir Khusro's early efforts. He wrote and preached extensively about the beliefs and the mode of living of the Musalmans who had made India their home. On the other hand, he also wrote about the traditional thought and the way of living of the Hindus for the benefit of the Muslims. As a result of these efforts the gulf which separated the two began to be bridged. Social contact between the Hindus and the Muslims increased and the two communities began to come closer to each other as a result of mutual understanding and sympathy. Our history bears testimony to the fact that it was as a result of the preachings of Amir Khusro and other soofis and saints that the basis of the Delhi Sultanate and the shape of governmental machinery became broader in the 14th century and thereafter. It is not surprising, therefore, if among Khusro's admirers we find both Muslims and Hindus.

Although the Urs of Amir Khusro has been celebrated year after year for centuries, I think there are special reasons why we should celebrate it in the present age. India is today a free country, a country whose Constitution confers equal rights on all its citizens and where no one has a right to consider himself superior and none need fear that he will be dubbed inferior on the basis of caste, creed or religion. In the eyes of our law and Constitution all citizens of the State are equal. We Indians can take pride in the fact that for thousands of years people professing different faiths and belonging to different communities have been living in this country. Even today there is hardly a living faith whose followers are not found in our country in howsoever small or large numbers. We feel proud of this diversity in our cultural pattern and look upon it as a blessing and a quality.

But it is not enough merely to say this. If we must feel proud and call this diversity a blessing, we have got to do something to ensure that it is really so. We must all cultivate tolerance and goodwill towards one another. Let people of all faiths living in this country feel that they have all an equal right to live here and follow the faith of their choice. This is one of the most fundamental principles of our Constitution and it is the duty of every citizen to foster the spirit of liberality and tolerance.

For achieving this objective, nothing could be of greater importance than celebrating such occasions as the Urs of Amir Khusro and appreciating the services rendered by men like him. To have faith in God and religion and to show sympathy towards all His creatures, are one and the same thing. It is this fact, above all else, which the lives of men like Hazarat Nizamuddin and Amir Khusro bring into bold prominence.

Although occasions like this are of importance for people all over the country, those living in Delhi have a special responsibility to celebrate and to imbibe the spirit of the composite culture and the common language for which Hazrat Nizamuddin and Amir Khusro toiled. That is because both of these noble souls lived most of the time in Delhi and lie buried here. I think Amir Khusro ranks as one of our national heroes. I am glad that this fact has begun to be appreciated widely and something is being done by our people, I am told also the Government, to keep the memory of this gifted man alive.

M. Visvesvarayya

WE HAVE ASSEMBLED here this evening to offer our tributes of praise and appreciation and our heartfelt felicitations to Dr. Visvesvaraya. There is a saying in Hindi "*Honehaar birwaan ke hot cheekane paat*".

A promising plant has smooth leaves so that a person who is destined to rise in future shows symptoms early in age which forecasts his future. Sir Visvesvaraya, as you all know, did not come of a very affluent family and his early days in school were like the days of a person who did not have much to spare for education. In spite of that handicap he managed to top all the examination lists and acquired scholarships with the help of which he proceeded further and further on. Ultimately when he passed the Engineering examination and took the first place, he was naturally offered a job very soon after he had Passed the examination. Thus began a career which has not, fortunately for us and happily for the whole country, yet ended. This was some 77 years ago because it was in 1883 that he got the first appointment as an Assistant Engineer and continued holding different posts in the Engineering line rising from the lowest rung up to the highest within a period of nearly 25 years during which he continued in that line.

His services came to be recognised at a very early age and it was then discovered how devoted he used to be to his work and to the study of the details connected with any scheme which he had in hand and with what devotion and assiduity he pursued the work which he took in hand. There was nothing surprising then when one after another offers came to him to help in particular projects which were then under the contemplation of the Government.

His services under the British Government were mostly confined to Bombay, to the State of Bombay as it then was, and it comprised Sind also within the State of Bombay. Therefore, he worked out details of many schemes of water works, of drainage, of banks and embankments, of canals and channels for irrigation purposes in various districts in which he served. Everywhere his work was appreciated as of very high quality and when he retired from the Engineering line and became the Diwan of Mysore, he brought to his work not only his vast experience as an Engineer but also vast knowledge of people with whom he came into contact and about whom he read and studied. In his capacity as Diwan, he got an opportunity of

Speech made while presiding over the centenary Celebration of Dr. Visvesvarayya in the Constitution Club, New Delhi, September 15, 1960.

putting into practice many of the things which he had in mind and not only be built the great Krishnarajasagar Dam and the connected irrigation system with it, but he also built the University of Mysore. He also erected several factories including the Bhadravati Iron & Steel Works, the Sandalwood factory and so many other things within the Mysore State and it was not only within the Mysore State that his services were appreciated but in other places and distant places also he was requisitioned and consulted for his vast experience in the Engineering line.

He was interested in Engineering undoubtedly but he was no less interested in education and his interest in education is only an illustration of the way he wanted to build up the whole country with the help of irrigational projects so that there might be an all-round integrated development of the country as a whole. I am glad he has succeeded to a considerable extent.

Dr. Rao has told us how he forecast many of things which we are now taking up or which we are thinking of taking up. You have also heard how even at this age he takes active interest in projects with regard to which he is consulted by engineers. Just now Shri Karnail Singh mentioned the Mokameh Bridge. At that age it would have been difficult for anyone to think of leaving his home but not for Dr. Visvesvaraya. He went not only to Mokameh, but he visited so many places and in the midst of all kinds of difficulties and inconveniences which one can expect in such circumstances and ultimately gave an award which settled a dispute which had been going on for 20, 25 years among the engineers.

I may mention one or two things which may interest you, and perhaps also amuse you. We all have heard about his long life and many people have been naturally interested trying to find out the cause of not only his long life but good and healthy life and that even at this age he lives the life which, he lived 50 years ago and all that, so far as I have heard, is due to his moderate living so that nothing goes wrong, nothing is misplaced, nothing is missing, everything is in its place which he finds at the right time and at the right place. All order in his whole life and that we can see from the dress he always wears and had worn all these 70 years or so and we can also see how meticulously correct he is not only in his dress but everything he does and that meticulously correct mind works not only when he works out any engineering problem but also when he talks to friends, when he is having his food, when he is talking of Constitution and this meticulously correct attitude to life, correct attitude with regard to everything is wholly responsible for the kind of health he has been able to maintain all these years.

Someone was discussing with him the question of his long life and the friend who was talking to him wanted to know the secret of his longevity and he is reported to have said "Death came to me but I was not at home, so it had to go away". We have really to be thankful to God that there is a man on whom death can wait and has to go away when he is not at home to receive it. He has lived all his life with this meticulous correctness. I give you an illustration of it.

Some years ago, he was given the honour of Bharat Ratna. He came to receive it and stayed in the Rashtrapati Bhavan where all guests of that type stay. I was under the impression that he would be staying there for two or three days. One morning he suddenly came to me and told me that he was going. I was somewhat surprised and asked him where he was going. He said he was going to a hotel. I asked him "Why are you going to a hotel? I hope you are quite comfortable here and you have had no inconvenience here". He said, "I am quite comfortable and have no inconvenience here but I understand that the rule of this House is that no guest should stay here for more than 3 days. That period is over and so I am going". I said that might be the rule at one time but it was no longer the rule and at any rate it did not apply to him, he would not listen. He not only accepted but obeyed the old rule which is out of date now. But that shows his meticulously correct attitude which he always had with regard to all matters. That is why all his schemes turned out to be meticulously correct and after long long discussions, as Shri Karnail Singh has pointed out, they decided to build a bridge at Mokameh and the bridge was built. It has been working quite well, as well as anyone can expect it to work. That is because, as Shri Karnail Singh has pointed out, he had devoted meticulous care to the examination of this scheme as he had done with any other scheme he had dealt with at any time of his life.

Nowadays, we hear all kinds of complaints from students, from young people, from other classes of people. We are sometimes in a hurry to do a thing without actually knowing it and it very often happens that we hope to achieve result without working for the result. If there is anything that we can learn from the life of Sir Visvesvaraya, it is that we should not expect to achieve anything without hard and devoted work and without attending to the minutest details of it. I would urge all our people to learn this great lesson.

Now that we are engaged in the tremendous task of building up a new India, every one, whatever his station in life, should work hard and pay all the attention that is possible for him to pay to his work. We should not leave anything undone nor should we leave anything to be done by somebody

else for us. If everyone of us does his duty that comes nearest to his hand, we should rest assured that the rest will take care of itself and he need not worry about what others do and achieve so long he does the duty that has come nearest to his hand. This is the lesson we have to learn and the life of Dr. Visvesvaraya ought to remind us of our responsibilities and duties and also of the great joy we may derive from the fulfilment of duties and responsibilities. I am glad that we have met this evening and on your behalf I would like to convey to Sir Visvesvaraya our felicitations and our thanks to God for sparing him for many years to serve the country and to serve us.

Lord Clement Attlee

IT IS MY pleasant function this evening to offer thanks to Lord Attlee for the two very interesting and inspiring addresses which he has delivered to us. He started with saying, just as he has ended with saying, that he was speaking as a retired politician. He has also disclaimed all title of being a philosopher or a historian. But while I was listening to his two addresses, I felt time and again that it was a truly farsighted statesman who was speaking and not a mere politician.

We in India have had very pleasant experience of his farsighted statesmanship. Even while we were engaged in our struggle for freedom, we had a full measure of his understanding and sympathy, and the moment he became prime Minister of England, he gave us our due, and earned not only for Great Britain but for all humanity a title, which should remain for ever valued title, namely Liberator. It was a wise act of statesmanship, wise both because it did us good and also because it did good to England. I can say without fear of contradiction that the relations between the United Kingdom and India were never happier than they are today and whatever our feelings might have been at one time, we have decided to lay them aside and bury them once for all, and to remember only the good and pleasant things that we have had to experience during the British period and thereafter.

His speech, therefore, has come to us not as a surprise but as the accumulated wisdom of a man who has gone through struggle in his own life and who has reached the highest pinnacle of glory in his own country and in the world.

While I was listening to him when he unfolded his views about the future of the United Nations and about the future of democracy, the thought

came to me again and again whether the time has not come when humanity at large should come to a decision. It has become now inevitable that if by chance, whether international or accidental, there is another big war, the doom of humanity is certain; and therefore it is necessary to make a choice at this stage and that choice lies between violence on one side and non-violence on the other. Mahatma Gandhi used to tell us that the only hope for the individual as well as for nations lies in non-violence. It seemed to us to be an ideal which it would be impossible to achieve; but as Lord Attlee has pointed out, there are many things which he himself and people in the country at one time thought to be highly impracticable which have been actually achieved, and among them is our own freedom: and I for one do have the faith and the vision to feel that the day will soon come when humanity will, if it chooses to live, have to abjure violence in all forms. Violence has had its innings for thousands of years. Humanity has on the whole prospered on violence. The time has come when it should choose deliberately to live and prosper on non-violence. It requires great faith and great courage. Without faith and without courage, nothing can be achieved on a large scale, and it is time that some country or other takes courage and declares disarmament unilaterally without any condition and without any expectation from others. It will have to face difficulties. We may have to be prepared for extinction but nothing lives which does not die; and unless people actually prepare themselves for extinction in this way, they will have some day to be extinct in other ways, and it is for a statesman of the type of Lord Attlee to devise ways and means which could bring about complete disarmament. Discussions are going on, but all these discussions are with a view to achieving balance of power in some form or other. The fundamental thing is to discard power, to discard violence, and unless that is achieved, the danger which faces humanity today on account of the latest developments in science and technology, will continue to face humanity.

It is really a great and good thing that statesman of the height of Lord Attlee should have taken this trouble to come over to us and to place before us his views about the way the United Nations should develop and about the future of democracy. As I have said, I believe in non-violence, non-violence in our individual relations which is only another name for what Lord Attlee has called tolerance; non-violence in society, which again will be only a kind of tolerance of others; and call it non-violence, tolerance or by any other name, if we develop that non-violence, we shall be happy and the world will be happy. If we neglect that, neither democracy will live, nor the world will prosper, and we should not be surprised if the world comes to an end.

I thank Lord Attlee for the very interesting and inspiring addresses which he has given to us, and I am sure I voice the feelings of all present here and of large numbers outside when I say that we have had the privilege of listening to a remarkable address. We shall only try to live up to the ideal of democracy which he has placed before us. We are only novices in a sense, but we have got the great example of his country and we are trying in a humble way to follow that path.

Rabindranath Tagore

IT IS INDEED an inspiring thought to have named this building after the great poet, artist and thinker, Rabindranath Tagore, for this place is going to house the three Akademies which among themselves cover nearly the entire field of Indian art and culture. Even as one tries to look back, it would be hard to recall such happy names given to buildings, self-explanatory in respect of functions and inspiring from the point of view of the ideal to be aimed at. The design and architectural excellence of this building have further added to the general harmonizing effect. It was my privilege to lay the foundation-stone of this building about two years ago and I am happy to have come here again in response to Dr. Humayun Kabir's kind invitation to open it.

The advent of Rabindranath Tagore on India's literary and cultural stage is an epoch, the impact of which, in terms of literary activity and cultural renaissance, has been widely felt and still continues to be felt. Rabindranath was fortunate in the time of his coming. He had imbibed the spirit of his times. He was lucky to have been placed in affluent circumstances and, in a sense, he may be said to have inherited greatness. The combination of so many favourable factors goes some distance to explain the flowering of Tagore's genius, but only some distance, because there was something inherent in the poet's personality without reference to which his own monumental works and his still greater contribution to the enrichment of Indian literature can never be explained. Rabindranath was great in his own right, by virtue of his own genius and sadhana. When one thinks of him and tries to assess his contribution, one is inevitably drawn towards his works.

Bengal is often referred to as the fore-runner of Indian nationalism in the modern era. It is without doubt true, that many of the things and events of the 19th century that we cherish today came to us from Bengal. Thoughts that sprouted into political awakening and which laid emphasis on the unity

of India, the urgency of social reform and the need to imbibe in our own body of thought some of the trends of western education and enlightenment, flowed, first of all from the soil of Bengal, and the great necessity of finding out national personality through the medium of our own languages found articulate expression very largely in Bengal. In all important spheres of life we owe so much to the early contribution of the galaxy of Bengali leaders from Raja Ram Mohun Roy down to Rabindranath Tagore.

It was, however, given to Tagore to be an effective link between the 19th and 20th centuries between which his life was almost equally divided. Having imbibed the teachings of his great precursors, Rabindranath interpreted for us the true spirit of our cultural heritage. In his own way, he became the spearhead of the forces of freedom from bondage, bondage from the past and also from the present. For, let it not be forgotten, he did not accept without questioning all that modern education and western culture stand for. He stood for a real and workable synthesis of the two streams of thought, eastern and western. This idea had such a dominant hold on his mind that he lost no opportunity of enunciating it in the finest of verse and in most forceful prose. Mere words, however, did not satisfy him. He laid the foundation of Shantiniketan in 1921 in order to give material shape to his dreams and ideals in the matter of education. Twenty years of thinking had preceded this, because the school at Shantiniketan had been founded in 1901. Actually it is from this year that a new period may be said to have begun in Rabindranath's life. As one of his biographers says, he felt restless, as if he were seeking his way, as if the time were coming for him to make a new start in life, with some new work or adventure. It was in this year when the school had been founded that Rabindranath went to live at Shantiniketan with his family, and remained there till his last day.

Although I was privileged to pick up a little working knowledge of the Bengali language during my student days in Calcutta, I cannot claim to be a student of Tagore's writings. But not one living in Calcutta, or for that matter anywhere in Bengal in those days, could have escaped the spell that Tagore's personality and his poetry cast all round. What impressed me most is the depth of this thought or feeling and its universal character. Tagore's genius rebelled against all kinds of artificial barriers. In India, it manifested itself against the rigidity of the caste system and in the international world against the colour bar. It was perhaps for this reason that he could never persuade himself to visit South Africa where colour bar was being practised, though he had occasion to go overseas and visit other countries several times in his life. His concept of the motherland was that of a beautiful garden where trees of different kinds grow, lending charm to one another. It would be right to say that Rabindranath was the best exponent of the

theme of unity in diversity. Our national anthem is just one example of the way he loved to think of India. I am inclined to think that while our political leaders, Gandhiji being foremost amongst them, gave us political awakening and showed us the way to freedom, it was Rabindranath Tagore who gave emotional content to our yearning to be free and to forge ahead.

I need hardly say anything about Rabindranath's genius as a poet, a man of letters and an artist. There are so many others here much better qualified to dwell on this aspect of his contribution. I am sure that all those connected with our three Akademies which are going to be housed in this building will draw inspiration from Rabindranath's life and his works. I am glad that the main part of the building has been practically completed in time so that its opening has synchronised with the celebration of the Tagore Centenary throughout the country.

I have great pleasure in declaring Rabindra Bhavan open.

Shivaji Maharaj

I AM GRATEFUL to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Shri Yashwantrao Chavan and the Municipal Corporation of Poona for their kind invitation to unveil the oil painting of Shivaji Maharaj, and thus giving me an opportunity of saying something about Poona and the situation in the country at large. As I have said many times before, I am not unfamiliar with Poona; far from being so I feel that with the passage of time my connection with this town is gradually becoming intimate. It can be ascribed of course to Poona's excellent climate, but also in an equal measure to the Government of Maharashtra, particularly its hospitable Governor and Chief Minister. The Mayor, Shri Karad, has rightly said that Poona has ever been attracting people from all parts of the country, and this attraction has become all the greater today because of the many civic amenities provided by the Corporation and the opportunities offered by Poona's industrialisation. I have no doubt in my mind that before long Poona will be counted among India's biggest towns. Thanks to the Municipal Corporation, the educational and public health facilities available in Poona are in keeping with its salubrious climate. The Mayor and other members of the Corporation are deserving of our congratulations on it.

Let me now say a few words about the main purpose for which this function has been organised. Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj occupies a special

place in the history of Poona. The early years of Shivaji Maharaj when he was shaping as a great warrior and organiser were spent in Poona. The rugged hills scattered over the landscape of the Maratha country and the many forts streamlining their tops bear witness even today to his greatness and farsightedness. These incidents of history have left their indelible imprint on Poona and the neighbouring areas. It was as a result of his patronage bestowed on this town that Poona could emerge from the limbo of many centuries' oblivion and come into its own. That paved the way to Poona's future greatness. This is a debt which this town owes to Shivaji Maharaj. As for the debt that the whole of Maharashtra and India owe him, it is for the historian to assess it. As Shri Karad has said, Chhatrapati Shivaji was truly the builder of an epoch in our history. His genius and achievements blazed a trail which lighted the path of Maharashtra and the rest of the country at the moment of darkness.

I do not think a student of history, on coming here, can possibly resist the temptation of looking back, for the very hills seem to echo the noise of Shivaji's military expeditions just as the tales of his patriotic fervour, his liberal attitude towards all and his many leader like qualities are still prevalent all over this region. Whatever view one might hold of history, it cannot be gainsaid that it provides the unfailing touchstone for testing the greatness of men and social institutions. With the help of time and strict objectivity, history manages to pronounce on men and thinks a verdict that is seldom wrong. We know of examples of kings and empire-builders who inspired awe and were considered great in their life-time, but at the hands of history their greatness melted away. Similarly, we come across people who could never achieve fame while they lived but whom history exhumed, as it were, from their graves and raised sky-high. Seen from this point of view also Shivaji Maharaj counts among the greatest of men. He was able to gather a good deal of fame and popularity in his life-time but the passage of these 300 years has further added to his fame and glory of his achievements.

Sense of history among a people is a great national quality. It is this feeling which lays the foundation of social organisation and leads to the greatness of nations. When I went round the U.S.S.R. during my State visit there last year, I was somewhat surprised to see the strong sense of history of the Russian people. Those people view all historical events of the past with great respect. They have no doubt erected innumerable monuments in the memory of Communist leaders like Lenin and Stalin, but they have not overlooked any historical event featuring in the history of Russia during the last 2,000 years. In Kiev, Samarkand and other

ancient towns they are busy carrying out excavations and renovating old monuments. Historical museums are assigned a place of great prominence in all Russian towns. I think we must also, in this country, cultivate this sense of history. In the past, we have been woefully deficient in this, which explains the fact that although we have inherited a great literature, there are wide gaps in our history. It is this drawback which is responsible for our inadequate knowledge of certain important events and some great personages in our history. Shivaji Maharaj is one of those great men whose life and work were a turning point in our country's history. Whatever, therefore, we do, write or say about Chhatrapati Shivaji or do to keep his memory alive is a matter of honour for India. But may I say that we must also learn a lesson from the lives of such great nation-builders? Remaining faithful to our past history and alive to the present trends, we have to present a balanced view of India's history to the people. Our people have not only to acquaint themselves with the country's history, they have also to learn from it the lessons it offers. Today as we are in the midst of the gigantic task of national reconstruction and when India has begun to be looked upon with respect by countries of the world, we are confronted with certain trends that are disturbing. Once again history has brought India to a crossing of the roads. We must turn to the right path. If, heaven forbid, we commit any mistake at this critical juncture, all our hopes may be belied, our aspirations dashed to the ground and our very national unity put in jeopardy. Let us learn something from history and realise our duty to place India and her interests above everything else.

Therefore, it gives me great pleasure to see that the people of Maharashtra are doing much to keep the sense of history alive and to honour its heroes. There is need today to imbibe in our lives Shivaji's ideals. His personal character, religious tolerance and burning patriotism were foremost among them. While paying our tribute to his memory by raising monuments, we should also think it to be our duty, to live up to his great ideals.

Once again, I would like to express my gratitude to the Poona Municipal Corporation for having asked me to unveil this oil-painting of Shivaji Maharaj. Let me also offer my congratulations to the Mayor and the artist, Shri Rege, who prepared this painting.

B. C. Roy

IT IS ALWAYS a pleasure to felicitate a friend on the occasion of his birthday and to wish him many more happy returns of the same; but when the recipient of such felicitations happens to be a close friend and an eminent public leader of long standing, the pleasure of offering them is enhanced manifold. Therefore, I feel overjoyed today in offering my congratulations and all good wishes to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy on his 80th birthday.

We have known each other for the last about 40 years. Our common aims and pursuits in the political field would have in any case brought us close, turning the first acquaintance into friendship. But in my case there was another impelling reason to seek his company whenever possible. The natural affinity between a patient and a good doctor forged new links between us. I would like to mention another thing in this connection that has often struck us both. Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy is a Bengali who spent the early years of his life in Bihar, while I am a Bihari who spent the most impressionable years of his life in Bengal, in the Calcutta University and later on in the Calcutta High Court. So I have reason to believe that we know each other particularly well.

Dr. Roy is one of India's foremost and most eminent leaders, but truth to tell, eminence had come to him much before he became a leader. Leadership of the public came to Dr. Roy after he had exceptional eminence and countrywide fame as a medical man. In that field too, it was not merely his knowledge and practice of medicine but his personal qualities and generous disposition which earned him reputation. After coming into the arena of public service and joining the great movement for Swaraj, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy applied all his capacities and personal qualities to his new self-imposed assignment. But he did not transfer all his loyalties from medicine to politics. I am sure he has not done it even today, for even in this advanced age and with limitless preoccupations he continues to devote at least an hour or two every day to seeing patients at his residence. It was given to Dr. Roy to rise to the same heights in the field of public work as he had known in the sphere of medicine. He is equally devoted to both the callings, which are not only compatible but also complimentary. For, is he not best suited to provide for the health when he is so capable to look after the sick?

I do not think I can dwell with any apparent advantage on his stewardship of the affairs of State in West Bengal. Most of you know it as well as, if not better than, I do. All parts of India have had to face all kinds of problems, known and unknown, soon after we assumed power after Independence. West Bengal's share of these problems and the chill winds which generally herald them, has been unfortunately more than that of an average State of India. It is his leadership as its Chief Minister and its devoted public worker which has been the single weightiest factor in giving stability to West Bengal. Like the Punjab and our north-west region, West Bengal has been deeply affected by the post-Independence conditions. Today, after nearly 14 years of India's partition, West Bengal faces good many intricate and complicated problems born directly of the fact of our country's division. As an inalienable part of India, West Bengal can depend on all possible help from the Union Government and the country as a whole, and in fact it has ever got it, yet it would be no exaggeration to say that it is Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's leadership of the State which has enabled West Bengal to face its difficulties.

Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy's life should be an object lesson for our people in general and the youth of India in particular. In all the spheres which he chose for himself, he worked his way up by sheer dint of perseverance and hard work. He has ever been known for his indefatigable energy and unremitting application to whatever he takes into his hand. Even at this age Dr. Roy is known to be working for more than 10 hours a day. If one looks at it objectively it will be found that the secret of Dr. Roy's success lies in his giving exclusive attention to the work before him. He does not believe in beating about the bush or in talking unnecessarily about what he is doing. He is one of those Chief Ministers of our States who rarely feature in news. He devotes so much personal attention to his duties that even a place like New Delhi he visits only when he must. Now and then he is called upon to visit the Union Capital in response to an SOS from a V.I.P. lying dangerously ill.

Dr. Roy's constructive mind and keen intellect often react forcefully to the surroundings. On such occasions he comes out with definite proposals for tackling a given situation. How far such proposals are found workable and eventually accepted by the parties concerned is not of much consequence. What matters is the capacity to come out with courage and break the ice. It has its own advantages insofar as an attitude forces a controversy out of narrow grooves and invariably carries it to a higher plane. Whatever the outcome of such efforts, their contribution in stirring up people's thought and making them conscious of the existence of a problem and the urgency of finding out a solution cannot be denied.

Although we have had independence for over twelve years, we cannot claim that we have succeeded in establishing and bringing about a complete coordination and integration of divergent forces under a compelling realisation of nationhood, which can and does afford to ignore differences and even contradictions. This realisation of nationhood places the interest of the nation as a whole above all sectional considerations, whether they arise on account of difference of language, of region, of religion or even of economic stratification and political ideology. The problem has to be tackled in all seriousness. Its satisfactory solution will be a sure guarantee not only of the unity of the country but also of its freedom.

It is time that the nation and its leaders put their heads together and evolved once for all a code of conduct to be followed by all administrations, parties and the public generally for resolving differences which arise. It is not suggested that a clear and well-defined policy on this issue is not already in existence. But seeing that troubles continue to raise their head, what we need is a reappraisal of the situation. We have either to evolve a new code or devise ways and means of applying the existing policy to current disputes with greater force and success. My own feeling is that in a multilingual and heterogeneous country like India the best way of ensuring peaceful solution of such internal disputes is to cultivate the spirit of true nationalism and mutual tolerance. Most problems will solve themselves and most differences will resolve themselves if everyone laid less emphasis on the enforcement of his rights and more on the duty of accommodating others. We must learn to live and let live and we must present to the world a perfect example of respect for points of view other than our own. Once we have developed this way of thinking, we shall get rid of the confusion which now seems to obstruct our vision. Full faith in the future of the Indian nation and unquestioned acceptance of the supremacy of national over sectional interests is our foremost requirement.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to join the people and the numerous associations of West Bengal and outside in offering our heartiest felicitations to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and wishing him many more years of personal happiness and national service. I also wish him bon voyage, for he is leaving for Europe tonight.

FAREWELL, MY FRIENDS

Need for Self-Confidence and Initiative

I AM THANKFUL to you for the address presented to me just now, I only wish I had deserved the praise you have showered on me. All that could be said is that I have tried to do whatever I had been called upon to do. If at all I deserve credit, it is only for not having done any thing which might have been mischievous or harmful to the country.

Democracy is a double-edged weapon which calls for certain restraints and constant compromises. In this requirement we must not fail. Instead of being satisfied just with majority decisions, an effort should be made to keep everyone satisfied.

It is painful to see people developing the habit of depending for everything on the Government. As I travel about in different parts of the country, I see people losing all self-confidence and initiative. Even for small things the people look to the Government to do those things for them.

I want that their initiative should remain intact and their self-dependence to remain intact. Unless the individual groups retain that kind of self-confidence which enables them to face great difficulties to achieve things even in the midst of opposition, ultimately the country will be the loser.

Therefore, I think that too much dependence on Government should be deprecated and the initiative of the people and the habit of self-reliance should be encouraged as much as possible. We have had the experience of our struggle, and during that struggle Mahatma Gandhi taught us to be dependent on ourselves.

I have often felt that independence, good and great as its achievement was, requires even greater sacrifices and greater devotion for its consolidation. It must be remembered that freedom entails great responsibility, and unless and until that responsibility is conscientiously, skillfully and efficiently discharged, freedom may be dissipated.

Let me say a word about the recent elections. In those elections things have happened which should not have been allowed to happen. Huge

expenses—both valid and invalid—have been incurred. Whoever has incurred them has also incurred obligations to the sources of his finance.

Friends, since this is not a formal meeting, I thought I should speak from my heart. I have expressed the feelings I had with me. Perhaps I have expressed myself in this strain on earlier occasions too, especially when I sought to upbraid those prone to dwelling on questions which divide us instead of thinking in terms of the good of the country at large. I must, therefore, warn the country against things here, there and everywhere which do us no credit.

Once again would like to thank you for the address and the kind thoughts that you have been good enough to express about me.

Farewell, My Friends

AS YOU MAY be knowing, I am handing over charge of my office to my distinguished successor, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, tomorrow morning. Before leaving the capital tomorrow, I thought, I might speak to you a few words by way of bidding farewell and offering you my thanks and good wishes. I have often spoken to you through the courtesy of All India Radio on a variety of topics ranging from Republic Day felicitations to Children's welfare. But, this evening, I want to confine myself to leave-taking.

Firstly, I wish to thank you for the great consideration and affection I have received at your hands during my tours round the country. I was privileged to meet many of you and to know at least some of you personally. I place great value on these associations and, let me assure you, I would ever treasure their memory. Whether we met in metropolitan towns like Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and other big cities, or in the parched fields or village greens by the side of the headquarters of a community development blocks, or in the expansive forest waste of farflung places like Bastar inhabited by tribal people, the memories of those meetings are equally sweet, even if the flavour differs. I shall ever prize them wherever I be.

I would also like to compliment you tonight on the remarkable progress democratic institutions have made in our country. The credit for this progress belongs not so much to this political party or that, not to the administrative or the official machinery as such, but mostly to the people whose good sense and discipline made the conduct of our three general elections so smooth and successful. Encouraging though these trends are, I must repeat

what I have said on an earlier occasion, that in the final analysis the success of democracy in a country must depend on the quality of its citizens or voters. Unless we make a genuine effort to imbibe the spirit of democracy and inculcate in ourselves all those virtues and qualities which have gone to confer on the current democratic system of government the distinction that belongs to it, we shall not be able to ensure safe and healthy growth of this tender sapling planted in our soil by the will of our people.

Let us not, therefore, rest on our oars. Let us stand up against all shortcomings or malpractices that may come to our notice. The task of fighting them out and eradicating them belongs to each one of us. I am sure we shall do it with the same promptness and keenness with which sometimes we criticise them.

It is customary on such occasions to give a word of parting advice. I, too, feel tempted to tender it to my listeners tonight, particularly to the youth of the country. My advice to them is to learn to see things in the right perspective, to develop the correct sense of proportion in order to evaluate things and situations correctly. It is a difficult thing but not so difficult if one were to try it honestly. In so far as evaluating things is a subjective process, it calls for deliberation and conscious effort but at the same time, there are certain well-defined objective criteria which help us in pursuing truth without swerving from the straight path. Once we have grasped this truth, it should not be difficult for us to resolve any conflict between personal and national interests. There is no inherent conflict between the two. In fact, one is included in the other. It is only a question of seeing both together and in the correct relationship. Once such a perspective is developed, all such conflicts which bar the way to mutual understanding, goodwill among people and national integration can be easily resolved.

Let me also remind you that if there are certain rights which flow from a democratic constitution like ours, there are also certain duties and obligations flowing from it. Rights merely flow from the proper discharge of obligations. Those rights are no more than the result of duties well performed. The enjoyment of rights is, therefore, conditioned by the performance of our duties. We owe it to ourselves, the society and our nation that right emphasis is placed on duties.

It appears to me that these two simple things that I have told you are of fundamental importance. I do hope, you will give thought to them and thus develop a broad outlook.

It is a matter of great satisfaction and national rejoicing that the country has elected Dr. S. Radhakrishnan to the high office of President of the Indian Republic. As you know, he has been a devotee of Saraswati all his

life and is recognised as this century's most effective exponent of Indian philosophical thought and way of life to the West. His stewardship in our present stage of transition to a highly industrialised state should be particularly welcomed, for the impact of his wisdom, his nature and fearless thinking, his statesmanship and his undisputed dedication to the cause of integrated progress and national unity, are bound to be a source of inspiration and strength to our nation. I offer him my heartiest felicitations and the best of wishes on his election.

Brothers and sisters, I have had my say, Let me now take leave of you all, bid you good-bye and wish you the best of luck.

A Gem Among Men

I CONSIDER IT a great honour to have been decorated today with *Bhārat Ratna*. The value of this honour conferred upon me is enhanced by the fact that I have received it, Mr. President, from your illustrious hands.

I am grateful to you for the very kind words you have spoken about me, though I know that their genesis lies more in your magnanimity than in any of my own qualities. When I have left this place, one of the sweetest memories that I shall cherish is going to be that of our close association, our friendly talks and official discussions, our weekly meetings, your sincere and clear-cut advice whenever we talked of various things of common and national interest, and, above all, your comforting words when I lay in bed down with serious illness last year.

May I say that I mention these intimate contacts and close friendly ties between us with gratitude and my highest regards.

It is, but rarely that one finds the Head of a State donning the mantle of a philosopher and thinker of such distinction as we, Sir, in India have been blessed with by selecting you as the President of our Republic. The idea might have once been looked upon as Utopian, associated as it is with Plato's ideal of philosopher-kings. I dare say it is no longer an Utopia. It is fast becoming a necessity, for having made considerable strides in the development of material resources. Man today stands on the brink of a precipice in the absence of parallel development in the moral and spiritual sphere. It is learned men like you, Mr. President, steeped in spiritualism and imbued with the highest ethical values, who can save the world from this crisis of progress.

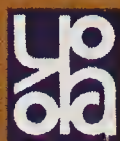
Speech made after being decorated with *Bharat Ratna* by the new President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, New Delhi, May 13, 1962.

True to our traditions of philosophy and the Upanishadic lore, we in this country are going to have the privilege of being led and guided by one of the world's leading philosophers. I am sure it augurs well for India, for we need, Mr. President, the light of your knowledge, your practical wisdom and your sage advice.

With your leave, Mr. President, may I also say that we rejoice on the election of Dr. Zakir Husain as Vice-President of our Republic. A great scholar, constructive thinker and an educationist of repute, Dr. Zakir Husain brings a wealth of experience in varied fields of public activity to bear on the new task that the Nation has assigned him. I offer him my heartiest congratulations on his election as Vice-President.

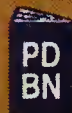
I thank you once again, Mr. President, for the high honour you have conferred upon me by decorating me with *Bharat Ratna*.

The speeches of Dr. Rajendra Prasad highlight the various facets of his life - as a statesman, scholar, historian, educationist and thinker. He never shied away from new ideas, while firmly holding on to his cultural moorings. On whatever subject Dr. Prasad spoke, he injected a rare simplicity of approach and a fresh air of contemporaneity. All this has made his speeches a real treat, even today.



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